VOLUME XXXIX NUMBER 2

The Catholic Historical Review

ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER MARTIN R. P. McGUIRE
JOHN TRACY ELLIS
Managing Editor

ADVISORY EDITORS
MANOEL CARDOZO THOMAS T. McAVOY CHARLES H. METZGER
WILLIAM L. DAVIS ROBERT F. McNAMARA JOSEPH N. MOODY

Table of Contents

JULY, 1953

ARTICLES

The Heresiarch Felix . . . . *Allen Cabaniss* 129

Austria and the Conclave of 1878
Friedrich Engel-Janosi 142

BOOK REVIEWS 167

NOTES AND COMMENTS 214

BRIEF NOTICES 223

PERIODICAL LITERATURE 243

BOOKS RECEIVED 250

BOOK REVIEWS

History of the Old Testament. (Paul Heinisch. Translated by William Heidt, O.S.B.). Edward F. Siegman 167

Documents Illustrating Papal Authority, A.D. 96-454. (Edited and introduced by E. Giles). Charles R. Meyer 168

Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy: the Historical Roots of a Modern Problem. (Catherine E. Boyd). Henry G. J. Beck 169

Saint Bernward of Hildesheim. Parts 2-3, *His Works of Art; Album of All Extant Works.* (Francis J. Tschan). George J. Undreiner 170

The Grey Friars in Cambridge, 1225-1538. (John R. H. Moorman). Lowrie J. Daly 171

The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal. (Margaret Rickert). John T. Feeney 173

Le nazioni al concilio di Trento durante la sua epoca imperiale, 1545-1552. (Igino Rogger). Robert H. Lord 174

Histoire de l'église en Belgique. Volume V. *L'église des Pays-Bas, 1559-1633.* (E. Moreau, S.J.). Charles H. Lynch 176

Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi, Volumen Quintum. *A pontificatu Clementis PP IX (1667) usque ad pontificatum Benedict XIII (1730).* (Remigius Ritzler, O.F.M. Conv., and Pirminus Seferin, O.F.M. Conv.). Raphael M. Huber 177

Le pontificat de Pie IX (1846-1878). (R. Aubert). Joseph McSorley 179

L'action sociale des Catholiques en France (1871-1901). (Henri Rollet). Joseph N. Moody 181

Pie X. Essai historique. Volume I. *De Riese au Vatican.* (Pierre Fernessole). Florence D. Cohalan 182

Science and Religion in American Thought. The Impact of Naturalism. (Edward A. White). Thomas T. McAvoy 183

The Catholic Church in the Diocese of St. Paul. (James M. Reardon). Peter Leo Johnson 185

Venerable John Neumann, C.SS.R., Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia, 1852-1860. (Michael J. Curley, C.SS.R.). Charles A. Costello 186

In Charity Unfeigned. The Life of Father Francis X. Pierz. (William P. Furlan). Peter Beckman 188

The Great Frontier. (Walter Prescott Webb). Frederik B. Pike 189

Shakespeare and Catholicism. (H. Mutschmann and K. Wentersdorf). E. Edward Cain 190

The Development of Economic Thought: Great Economists in Perspective. (Henry William Spiegel, Ed.). P. Raymond Nielson 193

One Sky to Share: The French and American Journals of Raymond Leopold Bruckberger, O.P. (Translated by Dorothy Carr Howell). Mildred M. Connely 194

A History of the Crusades. (Steven Runciman). Volumes I-II. Marshall W. Baldwin 196

The World of Humanism, 1453-1517. (Myron P. Gilmore). Walter W. J. Wilkinson 198

Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620. (Boise Penrose). Manoel Cardozo 200

A History of Portugal. (Charles E. Nowell). George C. A. Boehrer 201

The Gunpowder Plot. (Hugh Ross Williamson). Harry C. Koenig 202

The Organized Social Apostolate of Albert de Mun. (Sister Miriam Lynch). Robert F. Byrnes 203

German Nationalism. The Tragedy of a People. (Louis L. Snyder). John K. Zeender 204

The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union. (Roman Smal-Stocki). Thaddeus V. Tuleja 205

Socialism and American Life. (Edited by Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons). Two Volumes. George A. Kelly 207

A Mirror for Americans: Life and Manners in the United States, 1790-1870, as Recorded by American Travelers. Vol. I, *Life in the East;* Vol. II, *The Cotton Kingdom;* Vol. III, *The Frontier Moves West.* (Edited by Warren S. Tryon). Annabelle M. Melville 211

The United States as Seen by Spanish American Writers (1776-1890). (José de Onis). Martin J. Lowery 213

The Catholic Historical Review

Vol. XXXIX JULY, 1953 No. 2

THE HERESIARCH FELIX

By

Allen Cabaniss*

High in the chill, wind-swept reaches of the Pyrenees, less than ten miles south of the half-forgotten, semi-independent state of Andorra, lies a picturesque old Catalan village with the pompous designation of La Seo de Urgel. It is situated near the place where the Valira flows into the Segre, which in turn winds downward through the Llanos de Urgel and empties into the Ebro. Today the Bishop of Seo de Urgel shares, with the French Republic, responsibility for the protectorate of Andorra. Indeed, his ecclesiastical court has final jurisdiction for Andorran legal cases.

We are not concerned with Urgel as it is today, but with a man who lived there, who was its bishop, more than a thousand years ago, a man who bore the "happy" name of Felix. His date and place of birth are not known, but we may justifiably suppose Spanish origin about the year A.D. 750. He died in the city of Lyons early in the reign of Emperor Louis the Pious, probably in 818. When we first hear of him (in 789 or 790)—through the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, schoolmaster at the court of the Frankish King Charles—he was already Bishop of Urgel. Alcuin did not then know him personally, but had heard reports of his excellent reputation. He, therefore, urged Felix to make a good fight for the true faith against

* Mr. Cabaniss, who spent the academic year, 1952-1953, at the Institute of Advanced Study, is professor of history in the University of Mississippi.

the many annoying particularities which beset the Spanish Church.[1] Little did Alcuin at that moment suspect the ironic twist which history would bring about in a few short years.

During the 300 years before Felix, the poor Spanish Church, distinguished for its orthodox prestige in the fourth century, had been distressed by an almost continuous series of misfortunes. First, there was the subjection of its hierarchy to heretical Germanic invaders, the Arian Visigoths. It had weathered that storm and had finally converted the conquerors to the Catholic faith. But long years of comparative isolation from the main stream of historic Christianity had restricted its theological development and had given an archaic tinge to its religious language, thought, and liturgy. By the time the Spanish Church was ready to re-enter the progressive tradition, a second and more perilous blow fell, the Moorish invasion of 711.

In withdrawing Iberian Christianity from any but a tenuous affiliation with the rest of Christendom, the Muslim conquest was far more efficient than the Arian Visigothic domination. In this weakened condition, a third tragedy resulted: heresy reared its ugly head and threatened the interior life of the Church in Spain. It had arisen many times before, but it had been firmly and stalwartly challenged. Now the danger was greater and more insidious. It was abetted by the Muslim government; it was allowed to flourish without expectation of much pressure from outside the peninsula; and it was able to make capital of the antique cast of Spanish Catholic phraseology. It is the glory of Mozarabic orthodoxy that ultimately it maintained itself, but during the eighth and ninth centuries it suffered appalling onslaughts from its enemies.

The phase with which we are presently concerned is the appearance of what is commonly known as Adoptionism, the doctrine that the human Christ may be called God only by accommodation, that He is not the unique, only-begotten, consubstantial Son of the Father. The teaching has been traced variously to the lingering vestiges of Visigothic Arianism (or similar heresies), to the impact of the rigid monotheism of the Muhammadan conquerors, or to Iberian clerical ignorance of the increasingly precise language employed by later ecumenical councils and by the leading theologians of Christendom beyond the peninsula. Undoubtedly the last was the operative reason,

[1] Alcuin, *Epistola* 5. Alcuin's letters are herein cited by number from the edition by E. Dümmler, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, Vol. IV.

although the effects of the first two, and perhaps of others, must not be too casually underestimated.

Full accounts of the Adoptionist controversy in Spain may be found in several studies.[2] Only a brief summary is, therefore, required here. It apparently began in the 780's when Pope Adrian I delegated a cleric named Egila to inaugurate an attempt to bring the Spanish Church up to date in a number of minor ways.[3] Egila's efforts were impeded when he unfortunately secured as his assistant an erratic churchman, Migetius, whose theology seems to have been clearly defective. The primate of the Mozarabic Church, Archbishop Elipandus of Toledo, immediately took offense at what appeared to him as an undue encroachment on the liberties of the Spanish Church. His resentment was no doubt heightened by the poignant fact that all of the peninsula south of the Ebro, being under the Muslim yoke, was also under a stern necessity of maintaining at least the semblance of loyalty to the ruling power. But he was peculiarly fortunate in finding, in Migetius, evidence of heterodoxy among the "meddlers." At a hurriedly summoned council of his clergy, he declared the intruders, Migetius in particular, to be heretics.[4] Elipandus was a proud, bitter soul, not given to moderate statement, and thus, in his letters expounding his position and that of his subordinates, his archaic language and provocative epithets excited the churchmen north of the Ebro in Carolingian lands.[5]

A verbal battle was on. Two of Elipandus' clergy who lived in non-Moorish Spain, Etherius, later Bishop of Osma, and Beatus, priest of Liebana, charged the primate with unorthodox views and declared his followers to be "Elipandians," not Christians.[6] Pope Adrian intervened again in a letter to the prelates of Spain.[7] And before the decade was out, Elipandus, feeling the need of intellectual

[2] Cf. E. Amann, *L'époque carolingienne* (Paris, 1947; Vol. 6 in Histoire de l'Église, ed. by A. Fliche and V. Martin), pp. 129-152 (Chapter IV, "L'Adoptianisme espagnol"), and the literature there cited.

[3] Adrian I, *Epistolae* 36, 37, in Migne's *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina (PL)*, xcviii, 333, 336.

[4] Elipandus, *Epistola* 1 (*PL*, xcvi, 859A-867C).

[5] Elipandus' letter to Abbot Fidelis is embodied, in part, in Etherius and Beatus, *Ad Elipandum libri II* (*PL*, xcvi, 893D-1030C), chiefly in Book I, chh. 43 f.

[6] Cf. preceding note.

[7] Adrian I, *Epistola* 38 (*PL*, xcviii, 374).

aid, appealed to the Bishop of Urgel.[8] Like Alcuin, Elipandus had presumably heard about the favorable reputation of Felix. Thus he sought the prestige of assistance from such a well known churchman, especially one who, as a subject of the Frankish king, would be freer to carry on the struggle than one whose activities were to some degree restricted by Islamic authorities. Felix readily agreed, and from this point onward he seems to have been the chief protagonist of the Adoptionist side of the debate. Although Elipandus faded somewhat before the fame of his able convert, he must still be recognized as the originator of the movement, or, as the decree of the council of Frankfort (794) stated, "the author of the noxious crime."[9]

Without delay Felix set to work with great zeal and almost inordinate activity. Between 789 and 792, he had phenomenal success not only in Spain north of the Ebro, but also further north over the Pyrenees in the regions of Aquitaine and Septimania (Gothia), that is, in "France" south of the Loire; according to some reports, he had converts even in Germany and Italy. Twice Alcuin, the Carolingian exponent of orthodoxy, claimed that 20,000 persons in Aquitaine alone had fallen into the Adoptionist net, and that the number included not only simple layfolk, men and women, but also eminent dignitaries, bishops, priests, and monks.[10] Well may we wonder how such an eventuality came to pass. Several explanations suggest themselves. First, the land between the Ebro and the Loire, the area most affected, had a large population of Visigoths related by blood to the Mozarabic stock of Spain. Secondly, the sunny Midi, where the old pagan Gallo-Roman beliefs and practices persisted longest, has always had a tendency toward heterodoxy. Thirdly, this particular heresy, being almost entirely a result of verbal misunderstanding, was of such character that most of the untrained adherents probably failed to recognize any significant deviation from Catholic teaching. Fourth, perhaps we do not go far astray if we attribute the conversions chiefly

[8] As noted in the so-called *Annales Eginhardi, anno 792.* These annals are given in *Annales Regni Francorum,* ed. by G. Pertz, rev. by F. Kurze (Hannover, 1895). On the value and relationship of the various *Annales* of the period cf. L. Halphen, *Etudes critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1921) and a critical review by W. Levison in *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde,* XLV (1924), 390-394.

[9] *Liber sacrosyllabus contra Elipandum* (*PL,* xcix, 151D-166C; among the works of Paulinus of Aquileia).

[10] Alcuin, *Epistolae* 200, 208.

to the ingratiating persuasiveness of the leading advocate, to Bishop Felix himself.

But the great Charles of the Franks, himself a very forceful personality, was not one to be deeply impressed with thoughts that did not seem to emanate from his own mode of life, however attractively presented. Moreover, he took seriously his self-appointed task as "defender of the faith." And, above all, the man Felix was one of his own subjects. The ruler's duty, therefore, was quite clear, Charles thought, and in his inimitably direct fashion he decided to settle the affair without more ado. So, in the early months of 792 Felix was summoned to the assembly of Ratisbon where Charles was spending the Christmas season. (We recall that these annual or semi-annual meetings were the high peaks of Carolingian winters as the relentless military campaigns were of the summers.) At this assembly the "Felician" heresy, as it was hereafter called in Frankland, was formally condemned and Felix was caused to abjure his erroneous doctrine. In order to heighten the significance of the proceedings, he was sent under guard to Rome for a hearing before Pope Adrian. There also Felix solemnly renounced his teachings, once before the Pontiff, then before the resting place of Saint Peter's relics.[11]

But the disgraced bishop was not neglected by his brethren of Muslim Spain. As soon as the transactions of Ratisbon had been relayed to them, they took counsel, under the presidency of Elipandus, and dispatched a letter to the Frankish episcopate, setting forth at great length the Adoptionist views bolstered by citations from the Fathers of the Church.[12] Moreover, a letter to Charles was prepared, presumably by the Archbishop of Toledo. A strong plea was made that the king decide the issue on his own initiative. "With tears we beg you to restore your servant Felix to his proper honor and return the shepherd to the flock scattered by ravening wolves," Elipandus exhorted, and then threateningly reminded Charles, "Do not forget what Almighty God did to the Emperor Constantine, who was once a Christian, but afterwards an Arian—sunk in hell, Constantine now awaits the day of judgment!"[13] Aware, then, that he was not com-

[11] *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 792; *Annales Mettenses Priores, anno* 792. The latter annals, edited by B. de Simson, are found in *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hannover, 1905).

[12] This letter is given in *PL*, ci, 1321D-1331B.

[13] Elipandus, *Epistola* 3 (*PL*, xcvi, 867D-869D).

pletely deserted, and enduring only a light surveillance, Felix eluded his jailers in 793 and escaped to Moorish Spain, beyond the reach of Frankish and papal guards, returning, it was said later, "like a dog to his own vomit."[14]

About that time Charles' leading educational adviser returned from a visit to England. Although Alcuin had not been at Ratisbon, he, of course, approved the action taken there. Immediately, therefore, he corresponded with the erring Felix, begging him to yield on the single point wherein they disagreed, the Adoptionist teaching. But even while writing the letter, Alcuin could not refrain from testifying to the high moral character of the heresiarch: "Because of your widely celebrated fame for holiness," he remarked to Felix, "I once sought to commend myself to your very devout intercessions."[15] But Felix's reputation for sanctity did not prevent the Council of Frankfort in 794 from again anathematizing the "Felician" heresy.[16] This council, incidentally, was more important than the one at Ratisbon in at least two noteworthy respects. First, there were present not only Carolingian subjects and papal representatives, but also churchmen from the British Isles, giving it a partial resemblance to an ecumenical gathering. Secondly, more than Spanish Adoptionism was at stake. Perhaps of greater moment was the decree declaring null and void the decisions concerning the holy icons set forth by the second Council of Nicaea (787), the so-called seventh ecumenical council, a designation emphatically repudiated by the Frankfort assembly.

The Spaniards remained undaunted and their heresy spread so rapidly that Felix dared in the next few years to re-enter Urgel although that see was technically within the power of the Frankish ruler. But temporarily he was unhampered while Charles' interests were elsewhere. By 798, however, Alcuin was feverishly bending every effort to stay the rising tide of "Felicianism." A stream of letters on the subject poured from his *scriptorium* to Charles, to the clergy of Lyons, to the people of Septimania, to Patriarch Paulinus of Aquileia, to Bishop Arno of Salzburg, to Bishop Theodulf of

[14] Statement by Pope Leo III, given in J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence, 1767; facsimile reproduction, Paris, 1902), xiii, col. 1031DE.

[15] Alcuin, *Epistola* 23.

[16] *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 794; *Annales Mettenses Priores, anno* 794.

Orleans, even to Primate Elipandus.[17] Still further, Alcuin was busily producing a full-fledged treatise against the heresy.[18] But it is most remarkable that Alcuin yet maintained a high respect for his opponent; in the letter to Elipandus, e.g., he described Felix as a "blessed man, eminent in the religious life and noteworthy in holiness."[19]

The literary controversy was by no means one-sided: the "Elipandians" or "Felicians" were replying.[20] But the time was near at hand for another council. Late in 798 the Pope, Leo III, intervened again and pronounced against the troublesome Spaniards. And by the next year the stage was set for the final act of the drama, the council to be held at Aix-la-Chapelle. Leidrad, Bishop-elect of Lyons, Nibridius, Bishop of Narbonne, and Benedict, Abbot of Aniane, were ordered to Urgel to persuade Felix to appear at the gathering and to assure him of safe conduct.[21]

Although the decision at Aix may have been a foregone conclusion, the reputation of Felix, as well as the strength of his position and the resourcefulness of his personality, demanded at least the appearance of impartiality. And, indeed, in an almost incredible manner, provision was made for Felix to present his case in full and without restraint, which he did so well that most of the bishops were quite overawed by him. The debate, primarily between him and Alcuin—this was the first time the two protagonists had encountered each other face to face—was allowed to consume an entire week.[22] The precise course of the theological duel we do not know. We may surmise that it was generally a matter of citing "proof-texts," a kind of Biblical and patristic game of checkers, a "gymnastic disputation," as Paulinus of Aquileia called it.[23] Judging from our knowledge of Felix's

[17] Alcuin, *Epistolae* 41, 137, 138, 139, 146, 148, 149, 160, 166.

[18] Alcuin, *Liber contra haeresin Felicis* (*PL*, ci, 87C-120A).

[19] Alcuin, *Epistola* 166.

[20] Alcuin, *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum episcopum libri VII* (*PL*, ci, 128A-230D), mentions Felix's reply and reports much of it; Elipandus' reply is *Epistola* 183 in the edition of Alcuin's letters referred to in Note 1.

[21] Alcuin, *Epistola* 194; Felix, *Confessio fidei* (No. 199 among the letters of Alcuin).

[22] The anonymous *Alcuini vita*, ch. 7 (*PL*, c, 98B-D); cf. also Alcuin, *Epistolae* 193, 207.

[23] Paulinus, *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum episcopum libri III* (*PL*, xcix, 349C-468A), Book I, ch. 5.

character, his views must have been expressed in a suave, impressive, reasonable manner—it is unfortunate that we cannot picture his manner more accurately, but we have so little from his pen to help us. From Alcuin came not only a barrage of texts, but also sarcasm ("Tell us," he taunted Felix, "what God said to you in the wild winds of your Pyrenean hills"[24]) and innuendo ("As I see it," Alcuin charged, "the chief fountain of this Spanish unbelief is the city of Cordoba"—the seat of the Muhammadan government[25]). Paulinus characterized the debate as a conflict comparable to that of David and Goliath[26]—an anticipation of the phraseology used by Saint Bernard of Clairvaux in his dealings with Peter Abelard—but in the end "Goliath" acknowledged his defeat. A passage from Patriarch Cyril's challenge to the Nestorians is traditionally considered the stone which felled the boastful giant.[27] Once more the "Felician" doctrine was condemned; and this time Felix was deprived of his episcopal office and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.[28]

Shortly after the Council of Aix, Felix prepared an edifying formula of recantation for his former associates in Urgel.[29] In it he gratefully mentioned the freedom of debate which had been accorded him and the kindly treatment received from Charles, Leidrad, and Alcuin. He admitted failure to sustain the cause he had championed and now professed sincere conversion to orthodox Catholic teaching. Beginning the journey to Lyons where he would spend the rest of his life, he and his jailer, Leidrad, stopped for a short time at the Abbey of Saint Martin at Tours. There he convinced Alcuin that he bore no grudge, but on the contrary exhibited only sweetness, charity, and love toward his recent antagonist.[30] From Tours he went on to Lyons where a score of years yet remained to him.

In the *denouement* following the assembly at Aix, literary activity continued intermittently on both sides, orthodox and Adoptionist. The aged Elipandus bitterly assailed Alcuin as a "new Arius," son

[24] Alcuin, *Contra Felicem . . .*, II, ch. 2.

[25] Alcuin, *Epistola* 201.

[26] Paulinus, *Contra Felicem . . .*, I, ch. 7.

[27] *Alcuini vita*, ch. 7.

[28] Ado, *Chronicon in aetates sex divisum*, VI, *ad fin.* (although Ado has the wrong date). Ado's *Chronicon* appears in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores, II.*

[29] Cf. Note 21 above.

[30] Alcuin, *Epistolae* 205, 208.

of Lucifer, and pictured himself, like Rachel, as a "voice in Rama" lamenting over his poor, persecuted Felix.[31] Patriarch Paulinus and Alcuin composed treatises defending the Catholic doctrine against the still-active "Elipandians" and "Felicians," as also did Abbot Benedict.[32] Leidrad, Nibridius, and Benedict made another trip into the Pyrenean region for a preaching mission to extirpate the vestiges of the heresy.[33] Gradually the excitement subsided, but its repercussions were felt sporadically for a number of years thereafter. As late as the third decade of the ninth century, Bishop Jonas of Orleans charged that Felix had been reincarnated *(renascitur)* in Bishop Claudius of Turin, a Spaniard and former disciple of the happy-unhappy Bishop of Urgel.[34]

In Lyons Felix proved to be a model prisoner. It seems likely that he was subjected to no restriction more severe than not being allowed to leave the boundary of the city. Otherwise he was apparently free to come and go at will. He could talk with whom he chose and he had writing materials at his disposal. Bishop Leidrad was a kindly jailer and, until his death in 815, made no particular demands upon Felix. Indeed, from 800 until after the prisoner's death, we hear nothing directly concerning Felix. Presumably Felix understood his condition, felt no resentment, especially toward Leidrad, and submitted to his fate.

In the meanwhile, the actual administration of the See of Lyons was gradually devolving upon the *chorepiscopus,* Agobard, slightly younger than Felix, also a Spaniard, and a diligent man of action. Leidrad was frequently away at the court of Charles, and Agobard, consecrated in 804, was bishop of the diocese in all but name. That proviso, however, was sufficient limitation: all his actions, until he should become the ordinary also in name, were subject to the approval of his superior. But Leidrad's death and Agobard's accession might effect a change in the mode of Felix's life, for even before 815 Felix had aroused Agobard's suspicion (we learn this only after the prisoner's death).

[31] Elipandus, *Epistolae* 182, 183 (among the letters of Alcuin).

[32] Paulinus, *Contra Felicem* . . . (cf. Note 23); Alcuin, *Contra Felicem* . . . (cf. Note 20) and *Adversus Elipandum Toletanum libri IV* (*PL,* ci, 243B-300A); Benedict, *Disputatio adversus Felicianam impietatem* (*PL,* ciii, 1399-1411).

[33] Alcuin, *Epistolae* 200, 201, 207, 208.

[34] Jonas, *De cultu imaginum libri III,* Book I, *ad init.* (*PL,* cvi, 307D-310C).

Although a convicted heretic, Felix had quietly gained an extraordinary circle of friends among the people of Lyons. A number of external factors contributed to this circumstance. In the first place, Bishop Leidrad was his friend and certainly showed no intention of making the punishment more unpleasant than was necessary. Confinement (except to the limits of the city) was virtually non-existent. Moreover, Leidrad had so little fear either of maltreatment of the prisoner or of the prisoner's wish to evade the restrictions that he felt free to spend more time at court than in his diocese. Thus close and regular supervision of Felix's activity was lacking. Still further, there was inevitable sympathy among the Lyonnaise folk for Felix; both he and many of them were of related stock, the Visigothic. For that matter, however, the people of Lyons were peculiarly hospitable to all kinds of foreign cultural groups and linguistic units.[35] There was also among them a love of novelty which played favorably for Felix. For he was not only a one-time bishop—in itself a status with prestige—but also, by then, a person unusually well known to magnates and clergy, a person whose reputation had certainly filtered down to the ears of the lower strata of Carolingian society.

But it would not be fair to Felix to attribute his success in gaining friends in Lyons to external conditions only. As we have observed, he was kindly, mild, gracious, and morally good. He was, as well as we can learn, intelligent, scholarly, and capable of interestingly expressing himself. Altogether, he was a remarkable man who, even in adverse surroundings, never lost his temper and never lost his appeal to those who knew him personally. In all this he was different from his spiritual father, the irascible, proud, sometimes coarse Elipandus of Toledo.

In any case, in the latter months of Leidrad's episcopate, Agobard learned that at the friendly gatherings about Felix, the prisoner had been subtly insinuating novel teaching into the discussions, indeed, fragments of the old heretical opinion which he had solemnly abjured no less than four times in the last decade of the eighth century. Inadvertently or guilelessly, one of the simpler clerics had reported to

[35] Cf. the writer's articles, "Agobard of Lyons," *Speculum*, XXVI (January, 1951), 50-76; "Agobard and Amalarius: a Comparison," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, III (October, 1952), 125-131, and "Agobard of Lyons: Rumour, Propaganda and Freedom of Thought in the Ninth Century," *History Today*, III (February, 1953), 128-134.

Agobard that, according to Felix, the Lord in His human nature obviously did not know the site of Lazarus' burial, that He did not know when the day of judgment would be, that on the Emmaus road He did not know what the two disciples were conversing about, and that He honestly did not know whether Peter actually loved him.[36] These statements, rather innocuous and, indeed, based on Scriptural texts, indicated the trend of Adoptionist apologetics and Agobard at once recognized it. The revelation suggested, moreover, that Felix had violated his profession of orthodoxy again and had lapsed into his old errors.

For a while Agobard was undecided how he should deal with the situation. Leidrad was still the ordinary of the diocese, although now very old, desirous of retiring, and negligent of the responsibilities of his office. But one day Agobard—whether deliberately or not we cannot say—chanced upon Felix's salon and overheard the quietly persuasive and tendentious conversation. Suddenly he stepped forward and challenged the speaker with all the authority he could summon. Agobard was uninterrupted, and at the end Felix, assuming an abashed, deferential, submissive attitude, acknowledged his error and promised emendation. The meetings were thereupon discontinued. Agobard, realizing that complete responsibility did not rest with him, prudently decided to say nothing to trouble the last days of Leidrad. And so the matter rested for the remainder of Felix's lifetime, although some of his admirers grumbled indignantly that Agobard's zeal was not the result of true doctrine but the result of envy of the distinguished, but unfortunate, prisoner.[37]

About 818, in relative obscurity, Felix finally died, after having been a prisoner for almost a fifth of a century. In the meanwhile, Leidrad, too, had died and Agobard had been invested with the episcopal dignity of Lyons. After the encounter just described, nothing further had marred the relationship between Agobard and Felix. As soon as the latter had been buried, Agobard directed some of his assistants to undertake the task of sorting and disposing of the

[36] Agobard, *Adversum dogma Felicis Urgellensis* (*PL*, civ, 29-70), ch. 5. This treatise is exceedingly important and much of this paper, especially the latter section, is based on it. Chh. 9, 13, 16, 17, 19, 28, 33, 35, 36, 37 contain extensive quotations of Felix's catechism. For the other extant writings of Felix, cf. Notes 20 and 21 above.

[37] Agobard, *Adversum dogma Felicis*, ch. 1.

modest possessions left by Felix in the quarters to which he had been assigned. Hardly was that work well under way when something was discovered which required the attention of the busy bishop. Felix had spent his last years in composing a document of questions and answers, expounding the teaching which he had publicly foresworn but which he had never ceased to believe in his innermost being. It was this manuscript-catechism which now came to light and demanded some kind of action by Bishop Agobard.[38] The matter could not, of course, be kept secret; the information inevitably leaked out, posing a greater problem for Agobard than the mere disposition of a heterodox manuscript.

So the discussion began anew. Many who remembered the heresiarch—not only people in Lyons but soon many others throughout the Carolingian Empire—complained loudly against Agobard. At length the bishop reached his decision: he destroyed the manuscript, but deemed it both opportune and expedient to publish a rebuttal which he hoped would once for all conclude a debate which had lasted more than twenty-five years. This Agobard did with many an apt citation especially from Cyril's refutation of Nestorianism. For those who yet incautiously admired Felix for his life, he posed a telling allusion to Tertullian's *dictum* that "a man's faith is not to be measured by his manner of life, but his manner of life is to be judged by his faith."[39] And thus, apart from a few later references, the epitaph to the affair of Felix of Urgel was written by Carolingian Catholic orthodoxy.

But what shall we say about the once-famed heresiarch? A partial answer has already been given. Externally the man was urbane, gracious, attractive. All who came to know him face to face were at once indelibly impressed by him, even though they may have continued to resist his doctrine. Certainly he was a reasonable and persuasive speaker to have gained so many converts to his teaching. It is also quite amazing to observe how, even in defeat, he was not subjected to the cruel indignities which at a later day might have been heaped upon a convicted heretic. And even when anathematized, he was never personally maligned as so many heretics have been. In his lifetime his moral reputation was never successfully questioned. What then shall we say?

[38] *Ibid.*, ch. 1.

[39] *Ibid.*, ch. 2.

Was there any flaw at all to be discovered in his character? The answer to that query waited until after his death. Curiously enough it was the discerning insight of Bishop Agobard which at last saw the fatal defect. It should have been obvious much earlier since it had been adumbrated many times before Felix died. It may be phrased thus: no matter how admirable Felix's manner of life appeared, it was in fact a lie. It was a life of chronic, habitual deceit. Before the Council of Ratisbon, before Pope Adrian I, before the holiest shrine of Catholic Christendom, before the Council of Aix, before his clergy of Urgel, and before his Lyons followers and *chorepiscopus* Agobard, Felix had most solemnly renounced his heresy, only to lapse again into the same old errors. He may have thought each time that he was sincere, but we will recall that no delusion is quite so vicious as self-deceit. We detect in Felix also a fundamental instability in seeking outwardly to change his expressions in conformity with requirements of official opinion and popular applause. We note further the touch of vainglory implicit in his life in the desire for approbation. And, finally, we see a trace of cowardice in a preference for peace at the price of truth. Many heretics, as well as Christians, have dared to die for their beliefs, but not Felix of Urgel. In the last analysis (as we in our age of competing ideologies should be quick to admit), Tertullian and Agobard were right: only the simple and careless judge a man's faith by his life, rather than his life by his faith.

University of Mississippi

AUSTRIA AND THE CONCLAVE OF 1878

By

Friedrich Engel-Janosi*

"In the presence of a more or less remote eventuality we consider it a principle to avoid everything that may look like pressure, and to assure in its fullness the independence of the Catholic Church when she is called upon to elect a new Sovereign Pontiff." Thus reads the instruction which Count Julius Andrássy, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Habsburg Monarchy, despatched to his envoy at the Vatican in February, 1874.[1]

The question of the succession to Pius IX had formed a topic of diplomatic discussion for a considerable time,[2] partly because of the duration of his pontificate, the longest known in history, partly because of the extraordinary political circumstances carrying with them the loss of the temporal power of the Papacy. It entered its last phase when, after the Italian capital was transferred to Rome in July, 1871,[3] the powers ordered their representatives to follow the court of Victor Emmanuel. A double diplomatic corps then settled in

* Mr. Engel-Janosi is professor of modern European history in the Catholic University of America.

The preparation of this article was made possible partly through a grant of the American Philosophical Society. I am also much indebted to Count Peter Revertera, Helfenberg, Upper Austria, for having permitted me to use the private archives of his family. Once more I wish to thank all who so generously gave help to me at the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna.

All documents used in this article—if not otherwise indicated—are in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. The documents on the conclave of 1878 had been considered lost since at least 1945 and were so referred to by me in "L'Autriche au Conclave de 1903" in *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* (1951), p. 1124; they were "unlocked" in a very literal sense in September, 1952, and now form a volume, "Rome, Vatikan, Papstwahl 1878." In addition the reports from and the despatches to "Rome, Quirinal" have been used.

[1] Despatch to Lisbonne, Wien, February 2, 1874.

[2] Cf. my article "Two Austrian Ambassadors Discuss the Successor of Pius IX" in *Catholic Historical Review*, XXX (April, 1944), 1-27.

[3] Cf. S. W. Halperin, *Italy and the Vatican at War* (Chicago, 1939), Chapter 5, "The Transfer of the Capital," pp. 136-166.

Rome and the Dual Monarchy joined in this move, thereby acknowledging the occupation of Rome as an established fact. The Vatican felt the situation to have become well-nigh intolerable. The Roman Curia had been far from enthusiastic about the Austrian policy, especially since Count Beust was responsible for it; indeed, the later attitude of Cardinal Rampolla toward the Dual Monarchy may well have been rooted in experiences centering around 1870. An outburst of Giacomo Cardinal Antonelli, Secretary of State, who had always been supposed to be pro-Austrian and who had been backed by Vienna in the crisis of 1859-1860, stated the matter explicitly: if the Pope were to leave Rome, the Austrians through their connivance and the Italians through their action would bear an equal share of responsibility for his doing so.[4] The main question in the political discussions at the Vatican had thus become: shall Pius IX leave Rome in order to carry his protest against the events of 1870-1871 to the fullest possible extent?

A powerful group, the Jesuits among them,[5] was outspoken in favoring the exile. The Pope himself seemed to be uncertain; he thought of Gaeta, of how much the political circumstances had changed since 1849—"then the powers were favorable to my cause"—and, too, he had grown old. Furthermore, where would the Roman Curia go in 1871? Austria certainly did not make any gesture to press her hospitality upon the Pope and his cardinals. While it is correct that her representative at the papal court received an order not to revoke a former offer for asylum, Count Andrássy wondered whether Pius IX had not better direct his steps toward France; or one of the Balearic Islands might be a fit place in which to sojourn. Reasons of internal policy and a fear of turbulent outbursts among the liberals—already much excited—were largely the basis for such an attitude.[6] The very reminiscences of 1849 led Cardinal Antonelli to assume that the Pope would not leave Rome; the Curia had experienced what it meant to be in exile.

Yet, while Pius IX finally decided to stay in Rome, the rumors persisted that it would be otherwise for the conclave that was to meet after his death. Special provisions, it was reported by the diplo-

[4] Rome, Telegram Chiffre, June 21, 1871.

[5] Rome, September 19, 1876.

[6] Report Rome, November 25, 1871, Nu. 73 A; Lettre Privée, Wien, December 15, 1871.

mats, had been made by the old Pontiff in a secret bull to shorten and simplify the procedures for the election of his successor; in order to avoid pressure being brought upon them by the newly-born kingdom of Italy, the cardinals might not assemble in the Eternal City. On the eve of the Vatican Council it was a common saying in Rome that no truly Catholic powers were left any longer;[7] yet, "truly Catholic" or not, quite a few powers became nervous about the prospects for the conclave that was to follow the reign of Pius IX. Spain was then in a condition so close to political chaos that she was apparently left out of the discussions on this issue; the conversations were initiated between Paris, Vienna, and Lisbon toward the end of 1873.

The apprehension which motivated them was the same in the three capitals: if the conclave were held outside Rome, or in forms that differed from those established by tradition, the danger might arise that a part of the Catholic hierarchy—possibly under political pressure—would contest such an election, and the world would be presented with a schism that must weigh heavily on political affairs. Inside and outside the Church there were those who were far from having acquiesced in the recently proclaimed dogma of papal infallibility. In 1874 the *Kulturkampf* in Germany had come to its height, and the Old Catholics, whose prospects were greatly overestimated at that time, especially in governmental circles, had split away from the Church. To a Germany led by Bismarck, whatever brought with it a weakening of Catholicism would probably be welcome then; this prospect in itself was reason enough to align France on the opposite side, and Paris could feel confident that it was equally in the interest of Vienna and Lisbon, and possibly even of the Quirinal, to make sure that "the future election could be contested on no grounds."[8]

This issue had probably become a problem of considerable importance when Bismarck suggested in a despatch of mid-May, 1872, to his representatives that the powers should consult with each other as to the conditions under which they would accept the result of a future conclave. Due to the decrees of the Vatican Council—so the argument of this truly extraordinary document ran—the papal power had been increased in such a way that the governments were duty

[7] Rome, June 12, 1869, quoted in St. Jacini, *Il tramonto del potere temporale* (Bari, 1931), p. 273.

[8] Paris, June 20, 1874, Nu. 19 A; despatch to Lisbonne, February 10, 1874.

bound to ask the question whether the election and the personality of the new Pontiff would offer sufficient guarantees against such tremendous power being misused. It is known that Count Andrássy disagreed with the policy of the German chancellor as far as the attitude toward the Vatican was concerned, "the one sore spot" in the relations between Vienna and Berlin.[9]

In addition to making the election of the successor to Pius IX irreproachable *urbi et orbi*, the governments of Paris, Vienna, and Lisbon held in common the interest of exercising their influence at the conclave to the very limits of tradition; not only Paris and Vienna were outspoken about maintaining their right of interposing a veto to the election of one cardinal, but Lisbon, too, intended to claim such a privilege.[10] Yet the French Minister of Foreign Affairs voiced doubts as to whether a French cardinal would actually be willing to accept a mandate to exclude a member of the Sacred College.[11] The three governments were anxious—and the point had already been raised in the negotiations concerning a triple alliance between Paris, Vienna, and Florence in 1869—that no uncompromising Pontiff should follow Pius IX, that the tension existing between Vatican and Quirinal should diminish as much as possible under the given circumstances, and that the new Pope should be willing to establish a ***modus vivendi*** with the Italian government.

As for the wish expressed in Paris to go one step further and to combine with Vienna for a diplomatic action with regard to the conclave, Count Andrássy did not accept such an invitation although Beust, his predecessor, had eagerly aimed at it.[12] While he was will-

[9] Bismarck's despatch of May 14, 1872, is published in *Das Staatsarchiv*, 2nd supplement to Volumes XXIII-XXIV (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 266 ff. After the despatch was made public during the trial of Count Harry Arnim in December, 1874, the German bishops protested against it in January, 1875; *ibid.*, pp. 269 ff. For Andrássy's attitude cf. Eduard von Wertheimer, *Graf Julius Andrássy* (Stuttgart, 1913), II, 212 ff. During the visit of the King of Italy to Vienna in September, 1873, Andrássy obtained assurances that the government at the Quirinal would guarantee the independence and liberty of the conclave, and accordingly a despatch was issued to that effect in Rome in January, 1874; *ibid.*, p. 213 ff.

[10] Report Lisbonne, May 2, 1874, Nu. 16 A; despatch to Lisbonne, April 15, 1874; despatch to Paris, July 5, 1874; also Report Lisbonne, December 28, 1877.

[11] Paris, December 16, 1877, Nu. 77 B; Rome, January 5, 1878.

[12] Despatch to Rome, April 24, 1871; Report Rome, May 19, 1871, Nu. 29 A.

ing to co-operate with Lisbon on Vatican matters, Andrássy did not deviate from the road that was eventually to lead him to the alliance with Berlin in the fall of 1879. Taking into account the instability of political circumstances in France, the Austrian foreign minister did not feel sure that the next government at Paris would share the views expressed by the present one—why, then, should he run the hazard of such a coalition? On both Paris and Lisbon he pressed the lesson that any step taken at the Vatican must be made with consummate caution; nothing would have a more hurtful effect in the Roman Curia than a feeling that a foreign power wanted to exercise pressure on its decisions.[13] In 1872 Cardinal Antonelli had given an explicit promise that the old rules would be observed in all details in the case of a conclave; nevertheless, the Austrian ambassador was ordered to express the explicit wish of his monarch that the next conclave should take place "under conditions of perfect regularity."[14]

The French, in the course of these conversations of 1874, had also touched upon the question of whether it would be wise to deviate at the next election from a tradition practiced for four and a half centuries and elevate to the tiara a cardinal of non-Italian origin; to which was immediately added the statement that neither should the prospective candidate be of German descent. But this suggestion was likewise rejected in Vienna, and Lisbon pointed out that it had not been the Italian cardinals who had tendered advice to Pius IX that made relations difficult and unpleasant from a political point of view. Andrássy thought that a non-Italian Pope would be suspected of placing his nation's interests above those of the Universal Church and would thereby add to the existing political difficulties of the Holy See, a danger that would assume particular gravity if a French cardinal were elected.[15]

The question of where the conclave would meet remained unsolved during the remainder of Pius IX's pontificate, although it was shadowed by implications climaxing in the threat of a schism. An election by cardinals assembled outside of Rome would hardly be

[13] Despatch to Lisbonne, February 10, 1874, and April 4, 1874; to Paris, July 5, 1874.

[14] Report Rome, October 5, 1872, Nu. 10 B; despatch to Rome, February 11, 1874.

[15] Despatch to Lisbonne, April 15, 1874; Report Lisbonne, May 2, 1874, Nu. 16 A; despatch to Paris, July 5, 1874.

looked upon favorably by the Catholic world, although, in case the cardinals should assemble in Rome, exposure to pressure coming from the Italian government was apprehended and any promise on the part of the Quirinal to guarantee the independence of the conclave met with open distrust because recent experiences had shown other promises of that government to have been poorly kept. So dark loomed these political dangers that the Austrian ambassador referred to the conclave as the event that might possibly prove to be the most consequential one of the century. Some cherished the hope that if the cardinals should meet outside of Italy a general situation might develop in which pressure could be brought from abroad for the restoration of the temporal power.[16]

Immediately after the occupation of the city the outlook for a conclave in Rome was dim and the Austrian diplomat reported that he agreed with the opinion then prevalent in the Eternal City which considered Rome impossible as a meeting place for the next papal election. The Cardinal Secretary of State had pointed to an Austrian city as the best choice and mentioned Gorizia and Trent.[17] When Count Ludwig, Austrian ambassador to the Vatican in 1874, discussed the same subject in the summer of that year, he still thought that a large number of cardinals, prelates, and laymen were opposed to the conclave's being held in Rome and that the diplomat's arguments to the contrary had been of no avail;[18] by the fall of 1877, however, the prospects for Rome had much improved and, it was said, "except in the case of sheer impossibility the Conclave will be held in Rome."[19] Yet a group of cardinals continued to insist on leaving the city; their nucleus was formed by non-Italian members of the Sacred College among whom Count Ledochowski was the leader. Both of the Austrian ambassadors in Rome, at the Vatican and at the Quirinal, considered Rome to be a political necessity.[20] At the turn of this year the governments of Paris, Vienna, and Lisbon let it be known at the Curia that they insisted on the election

[16] Rome, Count Paar, August 8, 1874, Nu. 24 A; Baron Haymerle, Lettre Privée, December 13, 1877.

[17] Count Trauttmansdorff, Lettre Privée, January 4, 1871.

[18] Rome, August 8, 1874, Nu. 24 A.

[19] Rome, September 29, 1877, Nu. 32 B.

[20] Baron Haymerle, Lettre Privée, December 13, 1877.

of the next Pope taking place in the Eternal City.[21] "We consider it of much importance," the Austrian foreign minister mandatorily informed his ambassador, "that the election of the next Vicar of Christ occur in Rome. If nevertheless the Conclave were to meet outside of Italy, it is in our interest that an Austrian city be not selected for this purpose."

Soon after the occupation of Rome the Austrian ambassador had suggested to Count Ferdinand Beust, who was then still at the helm of the empire's foreign policy, that he give consideration to the next conclave, which, if it should convene in Rome, would appear to be lacking in freedom of action.[22] Basing his views on the advice of Othmar Cardinal Rauscher, Archbishop of Vienna, the chancellor planned to prepare for the governments' taking common action by the time of the death of Pius IX in order to safeguard the liberty of the election of his successor. But Emperor Francis Joseph cut short the plan in an energetic marginal note: "At that moment quick and very firm action must be taken at once; for it is not only the duty, but a prominent interest of the Austrian government to guarantee the liberty of the papal election."[23]

The diplomatic aspect of this preparation has been discussed thus far; now it remains to be seen what the Austrian government did to make its influence felt from the inside at the decisive moment.

It was, of course, important to dispose of the full traditional number of Austrian-Hungarian cardinals whom the government might trust in the case of a conclave. But the ambassador complained that no cardinal had been created in Austria-Hungary since March of 1868 and that the present members who represented the Dual Monarchy were three below the customary number. To any suggestion about remedying this situation, however, the Cardinal Secretary of State remained adamant, and in answer he pointed out that the actual conditions of the Church would hardly warrant either the great expenses connected with a creation of many cardinals or the festive character of such ceremonies. It was for the diplomat to understand the lesson implied, that none of the courts represented at the Vatican

[21] Despatch to Paar and Haymerle, December 31, 1877; Report Rome, January 5, 10, 1878.

[22] Rome, January 4, 1871.

[23] A. u. Vortrag of Beust, March 3, 1871, with memoranda of Cardinals Schwarzenberg and Rauscher; marginal note of Emperor Francis Joseph.

had deserved otherwise of the Pope in September, 1870, and certainly not Austria-Hungary. Cardinal Antonelli concluded his remarks by stating that the Sacred College still numbered forty members; but the Austrian diplomat added in his report that of these a third would be in no condition to attend a conclave.[24] On this issue, too (i.e., on the question of there being an insufficient number of cardinals assembling), the threat of a schism might loom up inasmuch as a conclave attended by an unusually small gathering of electors (with some nations traditionally represented in the college having no cardinal at all in 1871) might be considered as lacking a truly representative character in spite of canonical rules to the contrary.

When in December, 1873, and March, 1875, new promotions were finally made, no Austrians were listed at all; among those elevated on these occasions was ranked the former Archbishop of Gnesen, Count Mieczyslaw Ledochowski, an outstanding victim of Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*. Count Paar thought of these creations as strengthening the conservative element in the college.[25] In the spring of 1876 an Austrian was raised to the purple. He was the Jesuit, Johann Franzelin, from Tyrol, "the learned Professor of Dogmatics," as the diplomatic report referred to him.[26] But since Franzelin lived, and continued to live, in Rome, his creation was hardly considered as an increase of Austrian influence from the point of view of the Ballhausplatz. The Pope declined to promote the Archbishop of Kalocsa, Lajos Haynald, who was second to the last to promulgate the dogma of papal infallibility; objections were also raised against the Archbishop of Vienna whose attitude had been lately accused of Josephinism.[27] Nevertheless, the Archbishops of Vienna and Agram were finally promoted in the fall of 1877. Yet it was known in Vienna that of the sixty-four cardinals numbered in the College of Cardinals at the beginning of 1878, the last year of the pontificate of Pius IX, sixty were "creatures" of the reigning Pontiff; only four—Friedrich Cardinal Schwarzenberg of Prague among them—had been elevated by Gregory XVI.[28]

[24] Rome, December 29, 1871, Nu. 76 B.

[25] Rome, March 20, 1875, Nu. 7 A.

[26] Rome, March 18, 1876, Nu. 7.

[27] Josef Schmidlin, *Papstgeschichte der Neuesten Zeit* (München, 1934), II, 289.

[28] Rome, March 2, 1877, Nu. 5. Schwarzenberg criticized Kutschker for being too pacifistic and too lenient to the government. Coelestin Wolfsgruber, *Kardinal Friedrich Karl Schwarzenberg* (Wien, 1917), III, 494.

In the summer of 1874, when the conversations with Paris and Lisbon were in process on the attitude to be taken by these powers at the next conclave, there were drafted at the Ballhausplatz instructions according to which the ambassador and an Austrian cardinal, who was to be chosen bearer of the *secretum* of the monarchy, were to act at the next papal election.[29] They were dispatched to Count Paar on July 8 and in content they followed the pattern set up by Metternich in 1823 when rumors of the impending death of Pius VII had spread abroad.

The despatch began by stressing the necessity of the election taking place within the shortest time possible after the death of the present Pontiff, a warning appropriate for the first conclave to be held after the downfall of the temporal power, a conclave facing many unpleasant possibilities on the part of an excited and hostile mob if the election was to be held in Rome. Then followed the usual assertion that Austria held no personal predilection for any member of the Sacred College. If, the despatch continued, "by some misfortune the chances of being elected should turn toward an all too zealous Cardinal deprived of a conciliatory mind, of prudence and moderation, and incapable, in short, of fulfilling in a dignified way the immense task incumbent upon him," in such a case the ambassador should oppose the election of such a cardinal. However, the instruction went on, among the cardinals there was one whom the Minister of Foreign Affairs could already point out, whose election could never receive Austria's support if, by any chance, a majority were to favor him. The name of this objectionable cardinal was left unmentioned—again in harmony with the tradition of the Ballhausplatz; he was only characterized as being too well known in his attitude and principles to leave any doubt to the government of the Habsburg Monarchy

[29] Count Revertera, the Austrian ambassador to the Vatican in the years 1888-1901, in discussing the Austrian attitude at the conclave, while not having all the documents in his possession, assumed that Austria displayed little interest in that conclave due to the grave diplomatic crisis at the beginning of 1878. This opinion has been generally accepted (cf. Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 341); it is also held in my article "L'Autriche au Conclave de 1903," *loc. cit.*, p. 1123. The documents used in the present article give evidence that it is erroneous. The tenor of the marginal remark of the emperor in March, 1871, was correct, *viz.*, preparation had to be made well ahead of time as there might be need for quick action at the moment of Pius IX's death—cf. the text of the instruction in Appendix I.

that his elevation to the highest spiritual dignity would mean an outright calamity. If, against all expectation, his election were to become probable, the ambassador was to oppose it with all his might. Outright exclusion should be used only in an extremity; but the "certitude" of having this cardinal elevated to the tiara would constitute such a case. In that condition the ambassador was authorized to have the cardinal "with whom the *secretum* of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy will be deposited, pronounce the veto—à faire agir dans ce sens le Cardinal dépositaire du secret de notre Cour."

On the same day letters were also sent to Cardinal Rauscher, Archbishop of Vienna, and to Janos Cardinal Simor, Prince-Primate of Hungary. The first was to be the "bearer" of the secret; the second, his substitute to act in case of prevention. The text of the letters addressed to the cardinals is of interest: the foreign minister considered them "orders" *(Verhaltungsbefehle)* given to the two princes of the Church by the government. If they would act at the conclave according to these instructions, the cardinals would thereby prove "loyal organs" of "the noble intentions" of the monarch and thus acquire new titles to having satisfied the emperor and new merits in the cause of the Church. Josephinism certainly had not yet entirely disappeared at the court of Vienna. Cardinal Rauscher died on November 24, 1875, and two years later the Primate of Hungary was entrusted with the *secretum*, while Archbishop Johann Kutschker of Vienna, recently created a cardinal, was made his substitute.[30]

The result of any action taken by the Austrian cardinals in Rome was to depend largely on the degree of esteem in which the monarchy was held there. Certainly, that esteem had not increased during the chancellorship of Beust, who had denounced the concordat of 1855, was responsible for the passive attitude of the monarchy during the crisis of September, 1870, and, worst of all, had written the despatch of July 20, 1870, in which he had advised the French—in order to obtain

[30] Letters to the two cardinals of December 16, 1877; the ambassador was notified on the next day. No reasons are given as to why the Austrian government allowed two years to elapse between the death of the former bearer of the *secretum* and the appointment of his successor. Possibly the difficulties in having Archbishop Kutschker raised to the cardinalate may have had some bearing on the belated nomination. Vienna could have entrusted this function to Cardinal Schwarzenberg of Prague; but they may have thought of him—as Cardinal Rauscher had done—as too much of a feudalistic conservative. Cf. Wolfsgruber, *op. cit.*, III, 492.

the alliance with Florence—to withdraw their garrison from Rome and let the Italian troops enter there.[31] Nor had Beust's record improved later with the interconfessional laws of 1874.

But still worse was the deception that the Vatican suffered from Prussia, whose king had been thought of in the summer of 1870 as "legitimacy personified" in contrast to Napoleon III, and the sympathetic feelings of the Holy See for William I continued into the winter of 1870.[32] Berlin reciprocated by staging the *Kulturkampf*. Small wonder, then, that, as the Austrian diplomats and cardinals reported, the Roman Curia turned its eyes toward France, however much political stability might be lacking in that country. Not least instrumental in bringing about this attitude was the consideration that everybody in France—with the exception of the extreme leftists— thought of the political unification of Italy as a misfortune, so that chances existed from this side for the re-opening of the Roman Question.[33] But with the physiognomy of the Third Republic coming under closer scrutiny, the Danubian Monarchy rose to higher esteem with the Sacred College once more; however, Count Andrássy felt that the veneration in which Emperor Francis Joseph was held at the Vatican, according to repeated assurances, was utterly platonic in character.[34] Some tension between Pius IX and Vienna developed at the last moment when, a very few weeks before the death of the Pontiff, an archduke was sent to attend the funeral of King Victor Emmanuel II, and the Pope, hurt by that official homage paid to the founder of the kingdom of Italy, declined to receive the Habsburg prince;[35] yet, one may assume that neither party was much surprised by the action taken by the other on this occasion.

During the greater part of the reign of Pius XI speculation probably persisted on the personality of his successor. Reference has already been made to the extraordinary length of this pontificate; in

[31] Cf. my article "La Questione Romana nelle trattative diplomatiche del 1869-1870" in *Nuova rivista storica* (1941), p. 30 (offprint). The despatch became known at the Vatican; cf. Report Rome, August 8, 1874, Nu. 24 A.

[32] Reports Rome, July 21, December 2, 1870.

[33] Cardinal Rauscher to Beust, January 27, 1871; Rauscher to Andrássy, October 25, 1872; Reports Rome, May 19, 1871, Nu. 29 A, July 28, 1871, Nu. 49 A, September 7, 1872, August 8, 1874.

[34] Rauscher to Andrássy, August 13, 1847; Andrássy's marginal remark on Report Rome, March 24, 1874, Nu. 9.

[35] Report Rome, January 19, 1878, Nu. 2 A.

addition, the delicate health of the Pope may have served as an incentive to such rumors. The chances of the outcome of a conclave had been discussed in all details by the Austrian ambassadors prior to 1870.[36]

In the conclaves of the early part of the nineteenth century the rivalry between the two Catholic great powers had been, from a political point of view, the main issue. Austria and France continued in this field their centuries-old duel for the hegemony in Italy, as they were to take it up again at the assembly in which the succession to Leo XIII was in the scales. When the Austrian ambassador reviewed the cardinals in 1861, he thought that their attitude toward the unification of Italy, approaching its final phase at that time, should be the determining factor for his grouping of them. For that reason he put into the category of "cardinaux à exclure" the names of those who were known to have held liberal and Italian national sympathies as evidenced especially in the negotiations which Count Cavour had conducted about the Roman Question in the winter of 1860-1861.[37] On the other hand, the cardinal whose election he considered most desirable for Austria was similarly chosen from this approach. The only candidate really "papeggiante" in the eyes of the diplomat was the Archbishop of Fermo, Filippo Cardinal De Angelis, who had clashed on political grounds with the Roman republic as well as with the kingdom of Sardinia. "Except for him," said the ambassador, "there is but division and party strife."

When an Austrian ambassador surveyed the cardinals again in the summer of 1869, shortly before the opening of the Vatican Council, their pro-French or pro-Austrian leaning had become once more a decisive point. The results of Beust's policy were already easy to grasp at that time. Count Ferdinand Trauttmansdorff, ambassador then, voiced the ascendancy of France with the princes of the Church when he stated, "she is the only great political power on which they can still place their hope." His complaint about the composition of the college sounded a bitter ring, for he remarked, "there is really no superior man among the cardinals of today, and none of the eligibles is really above mediocrity."[38] Those of the "cardinaux à exclure"

[36] Cf. "Two Austrian Ambassadors Discuss . . .," *loc. cit.*

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 11 f.

[38] Report Rome, July 11, 1869 B.

of 1861 who were still alive should again be given the veto in 1869. The cardinal who had been the choice of Austria in 1861, De Angelis, was still alive, but gave the impression of having grown very old. The ambassador, without making further distinctions, suggested in 1869 three names as preferable in every way from the Austrian point of view. They were: Fabio Asquini, Giuseppe Trevisanato, and Antonio Panebianco; none of them was apparently of special importance, and they were to be alive at the time of the death of Pius IX.[39]

Once more, after only a year had elapsed, Trauttmansdorff discussed the chances of a conclave;[40] he wrote this report on the day on which papal infallibility was proclaimed as a dogma. Basing his views on the experience gained during the council, he assumed that the parties at the conclave would form according to whether the cardinals were or were not in favor of continuing the centralization of the Church as evidenced at the Vatican Council. Most dangerous political consequences, the diplomat thought, might result if a strong partisan of such conceptions, of what was termed the "uncompromising spirit," should be elected Pope. On this issue France and Austria would have identical interests. "If Austria and France unite, their influence will be very strong at the Conclave; if they do not, the influence of France may still be felt there very much." Thus the ambassador, in accordance with this point of view, advised giving the veto to three energetic and relatively young supporters of the rigoristic trend, namely, Luigi Bilio, the Barnabite, the principal author of the Syllabus of Errors of 1864, and the one to whom Pius had pointed as his successor; Annibale Capalti, who had acted vigorously as a president of the council; and Giuseppe Berardi, once the deputy to Antonelli. As for a positive choice, Trautmansdorff suggested five names, of which only Asquini's had been recommended in the report of 1869, and none of these was destined ever to rise to historical prominence. The name of the future Leo XIII appeared in this report with a group of cardinals whose election the diplomat considered to involve an outspoken tendency toward, though not an outright continuation of, the present regime and, therefore, Pecci was not to be favored by the Habsburg Monarchy.[41]

[39] *Loc. cit.*, p. 23 f.

[40] Report Rome, July 18, 1870 C.

[41] Austria had been critical of Pecci's activity as Nuncio to Belgium in 1843; Eduardo Soderini, *The Pontificate of Leo XIII* (London, 1934), I, 39 f.

At the period when Count Andrássy ruled at the Ballhausplatz he repeatedly urged his representatives at the Vatican to keep him informed of the qualifications and the fortunes of the members of the Sacred College. The minister held the opinion that at this time the governments were more than ever interested in excluding from the election a candidate whose tendencies would add to the difficulties already existing between Church and State.[42] In the summer of 1874 the ambassador turned in a detailed report. Count Paar had outlined previously[43] that the cardinals were unanimous in agreeing that they could not yield to the powers and had to resist; their split concerned only the tactics and the means to be employed in this resistance. "Both parties," the diplomat wrote, "muster strong personalities; but the more remarkable ones and those more 'papabili' are with the intransigents." He thought it probable that after such a long pontificate an aged Pope would be elected the next time to form a reign of "transition."

In surveying the cardinals[44] Count Paar observed correctly that when referring to a cardinal as a "liberal," one should bear in mind the atmosphere of the Roman Curia in comparison with which such a statement was made, and that if measured by normal standards it needed strong qualifications. He considered Louis Cardinal Amat, once the protégé of France, the leader of the liberal group. Always strictly opposed to the Habsburg Monarchy, this cardinal ought to be given the veto, as the Austrian ambassadors had already intimated on the same assumptions in the summer of 1861 and in 1869.[45]

The cardinal whom Paar termed the most likely among the *papeggianti* was again De Angelis, who had been the only candidate really acceptable to the Austrian ambassador in 1861, although he had disappeared from the most favored group eight years later. The conservative political principles of this prince of the Church and his friendly attitude toward Austria-Hungary were the reasons why his election was so strongly recommended on both occasions. "Though eighty-two years of age," Count Paar went on, "De Angelis is physically strong and in full possession of his intellectual faculties. . . . He is a friend of Pius IX and shares his convictions, but the cardinal

[42] Despatch to Lisbonne, April 15, 1874.
[43] Report Rome, May 10, 1874, Nu. 14 B.
[44] Rome, August 8, 1874, Nu. 24 A-C.
[45] "Two Austrian Ambassadors . . .," *loc. cit.*, pp. 11, 23.

uses much tact in handling affairs. He does not provoke conflicts, yet is inflexible if one imposes them upon him. . . . His age will silence hesitations which might arise in the Sacred College if he were younger. . . . If his name is put forward, he may obtain the unanimity of the votes."

During the conversation with Paris on the conclave held in the spring and summer of 1874, the Quai d'Orsay indicated the Archbishop of Naples, Sisto Riario Sforza, as its choice for the Papacy and, while remaining within the limits of a strictly personal opinion, the Austrian ambassador to the French republic applauded such a candidacy. At the same time, the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna similarly referred to Riario as having the best chances to succeed Pius IX. Also in 1861 and 1870, it was Riario who had been recommended by the Austrian diplomats,[46] and now Paar, too, was outspoken in praising him. In a slight variation of his report on De Angelis the ambassador wrote concerning the Archbishop of Naples: "Not only does he not provoke conflicts, he even prevents them. . . . While Cardinal Riario does not compromise, he smooths down as much as possible; he is able, energetic, has an independent character and is endowed with initiative; he is held in high esteem generally . . . he has good chances; he is only sixty-four years old."

Count Trauttmansdorff had indicated Cardinals Bilio and Capalti as deserving the Austrian veto for being vigorous representatives of the uncompromising centralistic trend at the Curia, and Cardinal Rauscher suggested that a similar action be taken against them since Austria had to anticipate an outright unfriendly attitude on their part.[47] In Paar's report Capalti was ranked among those cardinals who had no chances of being elected, while the Barnabite, Bilio—viewed with little sympathy in Paris—was described by the diplomat as being very learned, in great favor with the Pope, and an active and energetic conservative, but due to his youth he would have little chance at the next conclave.

Cardinal Pecci, the Bishop of Perugia, was placed in the group of those who, while not being *papabili* of themselves, might come to the fore if no quick result was reached in the conclave and whose election, though acceptable to Austria, it would be better to avoid. "He is an

[46] Report Paris, June 20, 1874, Nu. 19 A; Rauscher to Andrássy, August 13, 1874.—"Two Austrian Ambassadors . . .," *loc. cit.*, pp. 13, 25.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 25; Rauscher to Beust, January 27, 1871.

outstanding priest," it was said, "he is excitable and his intelligence is limited. Some think of him as a liberal; others as a conservative."

Not until September, 1877, did the Austrian ambassador alter his evaluation of the Bishop of Perugia. Cardinal Riario being struck down by a severe illness (both candidates favored by Austria, Riario and De Angelis, passed away in 1877), Count Paar described how Cardinal Pecci was the one on whom all attention was concentrated at the moment, and the diplomat added that Pecci was well informed and had charming manners. Moreover, Italian writers such as Simpliccio Pappalettere, Abbot of Monte Cassino, the liberal deputy, Ruggero Bonghi, and Raffaele De Cesare had pointed emphatically to Pecci as the probable successor to Pius IX ever since 1874.[48]

On February 7, 1878, at 8:50 o'clock, the Austrian ambassador at the Vatican sent a telegram announcing that Pius IX had died that evening at 5:45; at seven o'clock the ambassador at the Quirinal notified the Ballhausplatz of the declaration of the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs that the conclave would be given complete independence and liberty. The Austrian diplomat correctly referred to the fact that a government of the left being in power at the time of the death of the Pope was a lucky circumstance; a conservative ministry would hardly have exercised sufficient authority to safeguard tranquality and order at that moment, since it would have been badly harassed by the attacks of its opponents.[49] On the same evening the foreign ministry in Vienna sent word to the three cardinals of the Habsburg Monarchy residing outside of the capital that they should leave for Rome immediately by way of Vienna.[50] When the order was despatched to Count Paar, that in harmony with tradition he was to express the deeply felt sympathy of Austria-Hungary to the cardinals on the death of the Pope, it was added that he was carefully to abstain from making any political allusion on this occasion.[51]

[48] Report Rome, September 29, 1877, Nu. 32 B. On the printed literature cf. Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 338 f.; Crispolto Crispolti e Guido Aureli, *La politica di Leone XIII da Luigi Galimberti a Mariano Rampolla* (Roma, 1912), p. 16.

[49] Report Rome, February 16, 1878, Nu. 21 A.

[50] In addition to Cardinal Kutschker of Vienna, they were Prince Schwarzenberg of Prague, the Prince-Primate of Hungary, Simor of Gran, and Joseph Michajlowicz of Agram. The first and the last mentioned received the purple as late as the fall of 1877.

[51] Telegram Chiffre, February 13, 1878.

On the first day after the death of Pius IX the English cardinals, Count Ledochowski, and some Italian members of the Sacred College agitated strongly for convening the conclave outside of Rome, while the diplomats of the Catholic powers insisted that it be held in the place hallowed by tradition. When Count Paar presented the point of view of his government, Cardinal Pecci, holding the office of camerlengo in which much of the sovereign power of the Pontiff is vested during the period *sede vacante*, promised the worried ambassador that "everything would be taken into consideration," as it was expressed, "si rassicuri, Signor Ambasciatore, si peserà tutto."[52]

Such insistence on the part of the diplomats was not without some reason. The Austrian ambassador knew that when the health of Pius IX was seriously deteriorating in the winter of 1877, a group of influential cardinals—Bilio and Pecci among them—met regularly at the home of Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni to discuss the conclave. In addition to the cardinals known to favor leaving Rome—of whom Ledochowski was foremost—the majority of this group was reported to take the same attitude, and rumor had it that the camerlengo sided with them.[53] However, by February 9 the decision had been reached: the conclave was to be held in Rome. And when the four cardinals of the Danubian Monarchy arrived on February 12[54] this decision received additional support. Of the sixty-four cardinals then alive, only those of New York, Dublin, and Rennes were absent from the election.[55] In the college four cardinals were still living who had been created by Gregory XVI; all the others had been elevated by Pius IX. The conclave opened on February 18, and on that day Paar reported that the three considered to have the best chances were Cardinals Bilio, Pecci, and Schwarzenberg.[56]

[52] Report Rome, March 2, 1878, Nu. 9 A; Telegrams Chiffre, February 9, by Paar and Haymerle; Report Rome, February 16, Nu. 21 A. The English cardinals at the time were Henry Edward Manning and Edward Howard.

[53] Report Rome, January 5, 1878, Nu. 1 B; also Lettre Privée Haymerle, December 13, 1877; Botschaftsarchiv, Rome, 1878.

[54] Report Rome, February 16, 1878, Nu. 6 A; Wolfsgruber, *op. cit.*, III, 642.

[55] According to Schwarzenberg's letter to his sister of February 21; Wolfsgruber, *op. cit.*, III, 646. According to Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, p. 339, sixty cardinals were present; Soderini, *op. cit.*, I, 100, has sixty-one cardinals. The Sees of New York, Dublin, and Rennes were occupied at the time by John McCloskey, Paul Cullen, and Godefroy Brossais Saint Mare.

[56] Telegram Chiffre, February 18, Nu. 9.

Diplomatic reports of the early weeks of 1878 referred to Germany as being much interested in the future election of a Pope.[57] Only two telegrams give evidence of Vienna and Berlin having been in touch with each other concerning the conclave of 1878. Count Andrássy wired his representative in Berlin on February 10 that the cardinals of Austria-Hungary "had been instructed to insist strictly that the Conclave be held in Rome in exact keeping with the traditional customs, to use all means at their disposal against the election of a 'zealous' Pope and to favor the elevation of a conciliatory Cardinal." To this the Austrian diplomat replied the next day that the message of the foreign minister had received the full approval of the cabinet in Berlin, that the German government had no intention of influencing the election, and that it would simply wait and watch the events: the attitude had changed since the despatch of May, 1872.

When in December of 1877, William Henry Waddington, recently appointed French Minister of Foreign Affairs, discussed with the Austrian ambassador to Paris the chances of the next conclave and made it clear that France would not give up her veto-privilege,[58] he observed that if Cardinal Ledochowski, known for his fanatical ideas, should be the candidate for the papal throne, the powers ought to take action to prevent such an election. To this suggestion Vienna sent neither reply nor comment, which the Austrian diplomat considered surprising.

On February 11, the day after Andrássy notified the German government about the Austrian attitude toward the conclave, he forwarded a strictly secret telegram to Count Paar and ordered that the ambassador himself should decode it. It read:

His Majesty would consider the election either of Cardinal Ledochowski or of Cardinal Franzelin as a misfortune for Church and State. Our Car-

---

[57] Reports Lisbonne, December 28, 1877; Munich, January 11, 1878, enclosed with the Despatch Andrássy to Paar, February 8, 1878; Botschaftsarchiv Rome, 1878.

[58] Report Paris, December 16, 1877; Nu. 77 B.—According to Soderini, *op. cit.*, I, 202, Waddington had a discussion on the French veto with the nuncio, Pier Francesco Meglia, on December 14, 1877. The nuncio remarked that the Holy See had never recognized such a "right" explicitly. If the Sacred College was formerly agreeable to "osservazioni" coming from governments with which it was on especially good terms, those governments then protected the Church instead of offending her "as it is generally the case today."

ST. MARY OF THE SPRINGS COLLEGE LIBRARY

dinals are instructed to use all permissible means in the Conclave to prevent the election of these two cardinals. On the basis of the right pertaining to His Majesty to exclude one cardinal from being elected, His Majesty has given orders to Cardinal Simor or, if he were prevented, to Cardinal Kutschker to interpose the veto in time, that is before the election, in case an election of one of these cardinals could become probable. Please remind the Cardinals Simor and Kutschker of this instruction in an appropriate way.[59]

Actually the cardinals had received the instruction before they had left for Rome. This telegram seems a strange document indeed. It never became known and the ambassador, after having deciphered it, took care to destroy it.[60]

Neither of the two cardinals named as the object of the veto on the part of the Habsburg Monarchy had been discussed by the Austrian diplomats in their *tableaux des cardinaux*, since Italian cardinals had always been elected since 1523, and a French suggestion of a non-Italian candidate as successor to Pius IX had been rejected by Austria only a few years before.[61] So strange did the telegram of February 11 appear to the successor of Count Paar that he thought it could be explained only by assuming pressure from abroad,[62] by

[59] Cf. Appendix II.

[60] Lettre Privée, Revertera to Kálnoky, February 16, 1892, Rome XIV. Revertera, successor to Paar, ambassador at the Holy See, 1888-1901, assumed that in this way all traces of the telegram had disappeared until he found that the Primate of Hungary, whose diaries had recently been made accessible to him, had made an entry concerning its content; thus, there was again danger that the telegram might become known. But what Count Revertera did not know was that there remained a notice of the content in the "Politische Index" of 1878, a notice to which I made reference in my article "L'Autriche au Conclave de 1903," *loc. cit.*, p. 1124; and now, due to the recent "unlocking," the draft giving the exact wording has also been found. Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, assumes that all intervention on the part of the powers at the conclave of 1878 was restricted to a "silent," *i.e.*, not explicit, veto against Bilio on the part of Belgium, France, and Spain; strangely enough, his remarks (II, 343, n. 25) give the impression that he had consulted the Austrian archives. Soderini, *op. cit.*, I, 212, makes reference to a veto against Bilio by France, Austria-Hungary, and Spain. The text of the English translation of Soderini, *op. cit.*, I, 95, reads: ". . . it is certain that the action exercised by the various governments went no further than their opposition to the election of Cardinal Bilio"(!).

[61] Despatch to Lisbonne, April 15, 1874.

[62] "Darauf aber hat in nicht zu verkennender Weise eine fremde Macht Einfluss genommen"; Lettre Privée, Revertera to Kálnoky, Rome, February 16, 1892, Rome, XIV.

which Count Revertera, remembering Bismarck's ruthless attitude toward Count Ledochowski, then Archbishop of Gnesen, pointed to Berlin. But no evidence in the archives warrants such an assumption. France had suggested the exclusion of Cardinal Ledochowski, but Andrássy rejected co-operation with Paris concerning the conclave, and actually the French had excluded not the Polish cardinal but rather the Barnabite, Bilio.[63]

Count Friedrich Revertera commented correctly that both the cardinals against whom the Austrian veto was directed were known for their loyalty to the Danubian Monarchy and its sovereign; Franzelin had originated from Tyrol, and Ledochowski was a member of the Polish nobility. Yet "the learned Jesuit" was considered to have been, together with his confrères, Clement Schrader and Giovanni Perrone, the main theorist among the uncompromising group that eventually triumphed at the Vatican Council. In addition, a treatise which Franzelin had published in 1876 against the teaching of Joseph Langen, professor of theology at the University of Bonn, may have been taken into consideration in Vienna. Langen had broken with the Church and had joined the Old Catholics, toward whom the German government was supposed to be highly sensitive at this time. Count Ledochowski, as Archbishop of Gnesen, had been sent to jail by the government of Berlin for his unwillingness to accept its decrees during the *Kulturkampf*. While in prison he had been raised to the purple by Pius IX and he was released only two years before the Pontiff's death without being permitted to return to his archdiocese. His attitude was such that, together with Cardinal Manning, Cardinal Ledochowski was the leader of that group which, very much against the desire of Vienna, insisted that the Sacred College leave Rome for the conclave, an attitude which might have included some far reaching plans of a political nature. Such approaches were certainly not in harmony with the instructions given to the Austrian ambassador in the summer of 1874, according to which the Austrian government had

[63] According to the "Politische Index," 1878, a telegram was sent from Paris to Vienna on February 12, 1878, concerning the instructions the French cardinals had been given: France did not want Bilio. I have not found the text so far.

The title of the publication of Cardinal Franzelin reads: *Examen doctrinae Macarii Bulgakow episcopi schismatici et Josephi Langen neoprotestantis Bonnensis de processione Spiritus Sancti* (Roma, 1876); cf. article on Franzelin in *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, V, 1700. Bulgakow was a Russian theologian, and, at the time of his death, Metropolitan of St. Petersburg.

put emphasis on the election of a conciliatory Pope and ordered its representative to prevent the elevation of a cardinal who would be "all too zealous, void of a conciliatory spirit." Taking into consideration the grave political tension as it existed at the beginning of 1878 on the eve of the Peace of San Stefano, one may understand why Andrássy had the veto directed against Franzelin and Ledochowski in spite of their loyal attitude toward the Habsburg Monarchy.[64] Still, the question remains whether the chances of the two cardinals signalized in this way had been specially promising. Two days before the conclave opened, Count Paar had sent word to the Ballhausplatz asserting that he did not think that any necessity for using the veto would develop and that the cardinal primate, bearer of the *secretum*, shared his conviction. If, nevertheless, a situation should arise in which the veto must be pronounced, he did not think that it would be contested.[65] Actually, Franzelin did not receive any votes in the conclave, while Ledochowski received but one vote in each of the first two ballots.[66] Thus, surely, no "certitude" of seeing either of the cardinals elevated to the tiara had occurred. In this sense, the Austrian veto was wasted. Furthermore, some danger continued that Cardinal Ledochowski, who later as Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide held a position of importance for Austrian problems, might learn about the step the Dual Monarchy had intended to take against him.

The documents in the archives of Vienna do not add to our knowledge of the conclave itself. Telegram No. 9 of the Austrian ambassador, sent on February 18, reported that the most favored candidates for the papal throne were Pecci, Bilio, and Schwarzenberg; the next one, No. 10, despatched on February 20, announced the election of Cardinal Pecci under the name of Leo XIII. On the following day Count Paar was received by the new Pope, and Leo XIII

[64] The reputation of Ledochowski at the Ballhausplatz did not improve when the cardinal was appointed Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Count Kálnoky, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, commented: "no worse appointment could have been made from our point of view." Archives Count Revertera, Helfenberg, Upper Austria, Letter to Count Revertera, January 27, 1892.

[65] Report Rome, February 16, Nu. 6 B.

[66] Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, II, 345 f.: Bilio received six resp. (at the second ballot) seven votes; no French veto was pronounced, possibly because Pecci with nineteen resp. twenty-six votes was far ahead from the beginning.

addressed him with clear reference to the insistence of Vienna, Paris, and Lisbon that the conclave be held in Rome with the words: "The Catholic governments have wished that the Conclave take place in Rome; we have been agreeable to their desire and I hope that the Powers on their side will appreciate our attitude on this occasion."[67]

Late in 1892, when Count Revertera prepared a memorandum on the papal election, he found in the archives of his embassy extremely little information on 1878, and he assumed that due to the diplomatic crisis of these months not much attention had been given to the preparation of this conclave in Vienna and in the other European capitals.[68] As for the events of the conclave, he looked for a report of Cardinal Simor to whom the *secretum* had been entrusted; no trace of it was found, and the Emperor, Francis Joseph, to whom the foreign minister turned for information knowing the excellent memory of the monarch, replied that he did not remember having read it. Francis Joseph assumed that the cardinal, notorious for his dislike of putting anything in writing, had confined himself to giving an oral account on what had happened at the election of Leo XIII.[69]

On reading later the diaries of the Cardinal Primate of Hungary the ambassador learned to his amazement that, when Simor had left Vienna, he had intended to give his vote either to Sebastiano Cardinal Martinelli or Jean Baptiste Cardinal Pitra, both religious—the Benedictine Pitra a very learned man, Martinelli an Augustinian of great modesty. Apart from the fact that the reluctance of France to have a religious elected Pope was well known[70] and was shared by many in Rome, Cardinal Pitra, born in France, could as a foreigner hardly aspire to the tiara, while Martinelli had been described by Paar as very conservative, and, as such, one who did not enjoy the favor of the powers.[71] As the ambassador stated, "He left the Convent only to receive the purple and to return to it. Neither his likings

[67] Report Rome, February 21, Nu. 8 A.

[68] Revertera, Lettre Privée, February 16, 1892, Rome XIV.—Revertera sent a special report "Vermutungen bezüglich des künfligen Conclaves" on December 8, 1891, Nu. 41 E, with an appendix of December 18, Nu. 43 A, Reports Rome, Vatican, 1891. Emperor Francis Joseph took much interest in these reports. Archives Count Revertera, Helfenberg, Upper Austria, Kálnoky to Revertera, Lettre Privée, December 21, 1891.

[69] Archives Revertera, Kálnoky to Revertera, December 30, 1891.

[70] Waddington referred to it recently, Report Rome, January 5, 1878, Nu. 1 A.

[71] Rome, August 8, 1874, Nu. 74 A.

nor his chances carry him to the Tiara." Upon his arrival in Rome, however, Cardinal Simor had been quickly won over by Bartolini, the hard-working protagonist for the election of Pecci, to cast his vote in favor of the Bishop of Perugia. Revertera, in glancing over these entries in the Simor diaries, wondered what the primate would have done if Domenico Cardinal Bartolini had worked with equal ardor in behalf of another less qualified candidate.[72]

On one point the reports reaching Vienna in the days after February 20 were unanimous and that was that the best possible choice had been made. Such was the impression of both the Austrian ambassadors in the Eternal City. And Agostino Depretis, the Prime Minister of Italy, remarked, "if the Italian government itself had had to designate a candidate, it could not have found any better one."[73] When Alessandro Cardinal Franchi was appointed as the first Secretary of State of Leo XIII, he summarized in his first conversation with Count Paar the policy of the new reign in these words: "not to irritate, not to provoke, but to maintain the principles firmly."[74] The ambassador likewise remembered what the new Pontiff had said to him while he was still acting as camerlengo: "si rassicuri, Signor Ambasciatore, si peserà tutto—every aspect will be taken into consideration." The words now seemed to him to have a certain value as a program for the future.

The Catholic University of America

[72] Among the few Austrian sources on the conclave may be listed also the private letters of Cardinal Schwarzenberg, published by Wolfsgruber, *op. cit.*, III, 642-647. The Cardinal of Prague stressed in them the smoothness of the proceedings and the absence of any intriguing on this occasion. According to an entry of Pastor in his diaries of February 6, 1902, Msgr. Johannes de Montel, the Austrian *Uditore* at the Rota, told the historian that the Primate of Hungary and Cardinal Manning were those who first spoke in favor of the election of Pecci at the conclave. Cf. Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *Tagebücher, Briefe, Erinnerungen* (Heidelberg, 1950), p. 374. This version does not necessarily contradict the primate's entries in his own diaries, as referred to earlier in the text.

[73] Report Rome, Quirinal, February 21, 1878, Nu. 23 A.

[74] Report Rome, March 16, Nu. 10 B.

APPENDIX I

(Draft; Varia Rome, 1878)

A Mr. le Comte de Paar à Rome Secrète
Vienne le 187

Les intérêts les plus évidents de l'Eglise exigent la plus promte élection du Pape. Dans les voeux que nous offrons pour l'heureuse issue du Conclave il n'entre pour rien aucune prédilection pour un Cardinal plutôt que pour un autre. Il est d'ailleurs permis d'espérer que le S. Collège pénétré de la gravité de la situation ne laissera influencer son choix que par l'appréciation des immenses difficultés qu'offre de nos jours le règlement des affaires ecclésiastiques. Mais s'il arrivait par malheur que les chances de l'élection tournassent en faveur d'un individu trop zélé, dénué d'esprit conciliant, de prudence et de modération, incapable en un mot de remplir dignement l'immense tâche qui lui serait réservée, l'esprit général de Vos instructions Vous autorise suffisamment Monsieur le Comte à vous opposer à un pareil choix. Du reste les renseignements que V.E. voudra bien nous fournir successivement sur la marche du Conclave pourront seuls nous suggérer les directions plus précises réclamées par les circonstances. Parmi les Cardinaux il y en a cependant un que je puis dès à présent désigner comme ne pouvant jamais obtenir notre suffrage, si par hazard il se formait un parti en sa faveur. C'est le Cardinal ? dont les sentimens et principes nous sont trop bien connus pour que nous pourrions douter, que son exaltation à la plus haute dignité spirituelle aurait la portée d'un insigne malheur. Il est du reste invraisemblable qu'il puisse réunir assez de voix pour faire pencher la balance en sa faveur; si toutefois contre toute attente cette chance devait se produire, V.E. n'hésitera pas à s'y opposer de tout son pouvoir. L'exclusion directe et patente, Vous le savez, est un expédient extrême dont l'emploi est sujet à plus d'un inconvénient et ne laisse pas que de jeter de l'odieux sur la Cour qui en fait usage. Aussi doit-il être réservé pour les situations extrêmes. Comme une telle extrémité cependant serait à considérer la certitude de voir le Cardinal ? revêtu de la dignité Pontificale. Si donc jamais cette chance fatale se présentait et que tous les autres moyens de l'éviter eussent été épuisés sans succès, qu'en un mot les choses fussent arrivées au point de ne Vous laisser que le choix entre l'exaltation certaine du Cardinal ? et l'emploi de l'*exclusiva*, Vous êtes autorisé a Vous décider pour la seconde de ces alternatives et à faire agir dans ce sens le Cardinal dépositaire du secret de notre Cour.

Recevez. . . .

APPENDIX II

(Rome, Vatikan, Papstwahl 1878.)
Telegramm
an Grafen Paar in Rom
Wien, 11.Februar 1878 1h.p.m.
Nro. 3., Bitte selbst zu dechiffriren.

Zur persönlichen streng geheimen Kenntnis Ew.
Sr. Majestät unser Allergnädigster Herr würden die Wahl des Cardinals Ledochowsky oder des Kardinals Franzelin als ein Unglück für Kirche und Staat ansehen. Unsere Kardinäle sind angewiesen, gegen die Wahl der beiden erwähnten Kardinäle im Conclave mit allen erlaubten Mitteln zu wirken. Kraft des Sr. Majestät zustehenden Rechtes der exclusiva gegen die wahrscheinlich werdende Wahl *eines* Kardinals haben Seine Majestät geruht den Kardinal Simor und im Falle der Verhinderung desselben den Kardinal Kutschker zu beauftragen, im äussersten Falle gegen die wahrscheinlich werdende Wahl *eines* der beiden Eingangs genannten Kirchenfürsten das Veto noch rechtzeitig, das heisst vor der erfolgten Wahl, einzulegen. Bitte den Kardinälen Simor und Kutschker obige Weisung Seiner Majestät im geeigneten Wege in Erinnerung zu bringen.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

History of the Old Testament. By Paul Heinisch. Translated by William Heidt, O.S.B. (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press. 1952. Pp. xviii, 492. $6.50.)

Anyone familiar with Heinisch's Old Testament commentaries, especially his six superb volumes of the series, *Die heilige Schrift des alten Testamentes* (Bonner Bibel), might expect in this history a synthesis of the stirring events which were the material of the great drama of pre-Christian revelation. But it is exegesis really, rather than history, that is found here: an analytical summary and interpretation of the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament, arranged chronologically. In his anxiety to omit nothing, Heinisch often throws together detached bits of information which are hardly comprehensible without reference to his commentaries. Yet he is always faithful to the tasks of the Biblical historian: never to confuse inspiration with revelation, always to evaluate the different literary forms that make up the sacred record, especially the historical genre, resolutely to distinguish the various traditions and documents preserved in the account, and to test their reliability when they disagree one with the other.

Since Catholic scholarship in our country has not found the time to produce works of this kind, for which there is great need, Father Heidt has done a tremendous service by giving us in English first Heinisch's *Theology of the Old Testament*, and now the companion volume. The urgency of our need, however, hardly excuses the many marks of haste that mar this work, the frequent typographical errors, and least of all the omission of maps (the text attempts many place identifications). With his teaching experience the translator ought to have foreseen the fate of footnotes buried in the back of the textbook. Besides, the vast majority of them are Scripture citations which could easily have been incorporated into the text and thus rendered the whole less clumsy. Finally, he should have taken a cue from the translators of *Initiation biblique* and supplemented or partially replaced Heinisch's copious bibliography—often dated or inaccessible to most American readers—with references to studies that have appeared in English language publications. It seems that Father Heidt had good intentions; otherwise, this reviewer cannot explain the inclusion of *Scripture*, the *Biblical Archaeologist*, and the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* in the list of abbreviations, though not a single article from these journals is mentioned. The two or three articles cited would not indicate that either author or translator is aware of the importance

of *BASOR* and *Theological Studies*. And no writer on Biblical prehistory can afford to neglect Father Edward P. Arbez's articles on the subject in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*.

EDWARD F. SIEGMAN

The Catholic University of America

Documents Illustrating Papal Authority, A.D. 96-454. Edited and introduced by E. Giles. (London, S.P.C.K.; New York: Macmillan Co. 1953. Pp. xxi, 344. $3.50.)

Especially during the past hundred years the dispute waged by Anglicans and Catholics over the primacy of jurisdiction exercised by the Bishop of Rome upon the various nascent Christian communities scattered throughout the ancient world has been intensified by what has been termed "an appeal to history." Polemicists on both sides have searched the writings of the fathers of the Church to cull quotations in support of their divergent views. Representative gleanings on both sides are, in the opinion of the editor of the present work, vented in the first edition of Anglican Bishop Charles Gore's *Roman Catholic Claims* (London, 1888) and Dom John Chapman's *Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims* (London, 1905). The aim of the present work is to place these extracted quotations in their original context, that their real import might thereby be more easily grasped, and so to save the English reader interested in pursuing this dispute countless hours of research by placing at his disposal the raw materials essential to its study. In consequence of this purpose various documents—ranging chronologically from the first epistle of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians to the literary exchange which took place between St. Leo the Great and Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, after the Council of Chalcedon—are presented in English together with references to Latin and Greek originals in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, the *Corpus Vindobonense (C.S.E.L.)*, and Migne's *Patrologia*, to the source of the translations, many of which are taken from such standard works as the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, and the *Library of the Fathers*, and to the works of Gore and Chapman mentioned above. The editor has furnished historical background material for many of the documents; he has also attempted to improve some of the translations and enhanced the usefulness of his collection by supplying excellent indices.

One cannot but be impressed by the attitude of strict neutrality and objectivity which is maintained by the editor in most of his commentary. Rarely are his own opinions interjected; frequently interpreters from both sides are allowed to speak for themselves. The work is, however,

not without defects. Because its scope is limited a number of relevant texts listed in the collections of Rauschen and Madoz have been omitted. Although the editor shows himself to be thoroughly familiar with the history of the period with which he deals, his presentation to the reader is at times sketchy—perforce, of course, to prevent his volume from becoming unwieldy. A more serious defect is the lack of references to many excellent works in English which deal directly with the subject from the Catholic viewpoint, as well as to the important articles by Catholic scholars which have appeared in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review, Catholic World, Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* and the *Catholic Historical Review.* All in all, however, this work, by dint of the testimony which it gives, could, if used without bias, do much toward the realization of that aspiration of Christ which the editor has chosen as a motto for his introduction: "That all may be one."

CHARLES R. MEYER

St. Mary of the Lake Seminary
Mundelein

Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy: the Historical Roots of a Modern Problem. By Catherine E. Boyd. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Published for the American Historical Association. 1952. Pp. xi, 280. $4.00.)

Miss Boyd's investigation derives from the problem posed by an Italian parliamentary enactment of 1887 which, though abolishing the obligatory ecclesiastical tithe, continues to legitimatize the so-called dominical tithe, or perpetual rent from land based upon a portion of the produce. Rightly, the author felt that only historical analysis could reveal the true nature of the rent in question. Eighteen years have been given to research until now in its published form Miss Boyd's book provides not merely an answer to the original problem (the distinction between dominical and ecclesiastical tithe is not warranted, for the former is actually a form of the latter), but an extensive account of the Italian rural parish, with accent upon its tithing privilege, together with a good description of the concrete conditions faced by the Gregorian Reform in the eleventh century, much illuminating material on the proprietary (private) church, and not a little on relations between Church and State in the Italian communes.

Miss Boyd has done her work with commendable attention to detail. Her reading has been wide and her judgments judicious. Doubtlessly she will have the happiness of seeing her study take its place alongside Luigi Nanni, *La parrocchia studiata nei documenti lucchesi dei secoli VIII-XIII* (Rome, 1948) and P. Imbart de la Tour, *Les paroisses rurales dans*

l'ancienne France du IV^e^ au XI^e^ siècle (Paris, 1898). The present reviewer offers the following suggestions with an eye toward minor improvements in subsequent editions: p. 17: the reference to the *Codex Iuris Canonici* should read: *CIC*, c. 1502, without the addition of page or date of print; p. 28: Caesarius of Arles is now best cited according to the edition of Germain Morin (Maredsous, 1937-1942); p. 29: the account of the collect at Rome might have noted V. Monachino: *La cura pastorale a Milano, Cartagine e Roma nel secolo IV* (Rome, 1947), pp. 375-376; p. 32: Pope Gregory the Great's remark on a tithe of days as well as of property finds a parallel in John Cassian, *Conlatio* XXI, 24, 25 (CSEL, XIII, 599-600); p. 49: for the sub-divisions of the Roman *civitas* use might also have been made of A. Longnon, *Géographie de la Gaule au VI^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1878), pp. 16-20, A. Marignan, *Etudes sur la civilisation française* (Paris, 1899), I, 97-121, C. Julian, "L'analyse des terroirs ruraux," in *Revue des études anciennes*, XXVIII (1926), 139-151; p. 50: the statement: "In Gaul, to the contrary, from the sixth century onward *parochia* designated a rural parish" should have taken cognizance of the Council of Epaon, 517, c. 8 (MGH, *Concilia*, I, 21), and the Council of Orleans, 541, c. 33 (*ibid.*, I, 94) which employs *diocesis* in description of such a parish.

HENRY G. J. BECK

Immaculate Conception Seminary
Darlington

Saint Bernward of Hildesheim. Parts 2-3, *His Works of Art; Album of All Extant Works.* By Francis J. Tschan. (Notre Dame: Publications in Medieval Studies. Volumes XII and XIII. 1951-1952. Pp. vii, 503; xv and 268 Plates. $5.00 and $6.00 respectively.)

This second volume of Dr. Tschan's work (cf. REVIEW, July, 1943, for a review of Volume I) is a running commentary to the plates in Volume III. The five chapters, continuing the count in Volume I, bear these titles: The Codices, Works in Gold and Silver, Works in Bronze; the Doors, Works in Bronze: the Column, Saint Michael's Church. An extensive bibliography (pp. 453-486) and index (pp. 487-503) complete the volume.

Apart from forty—but mostly easily recognizable—errors the typography is excellent. The abundant documentation bears witness to the author's industry. His style, however, does not always make for easy reading, and occasionally words are used in their strangest meaning albeit with dictionary sanction. Factual errors are rare; yet it must be noted that Hrabanus Maurus was a monk of Fulda, not of Reichenau (p. 11, n. 40). Obvious slips are 1850 (p. 130) for 1620 or 1630 and

1183 (p. 12, n. 42) for 1883. Some of the page references accompanying the plates fail to indicate correctly the respective place of description in Volume II.

The photography and the reproductions are of a very high quality. It would have been better to print the pictures within the frame of a fair-sized margin, even if it meant enlarging the format, instead of creating the impression that they were trimmed down to meet niggard specifications. Indeed, some pictures (of the reliefs of the column) fail to show all that is called for by their description. Doubtless, the desire to keep the price of the album down prevented printing the plates referring to the codices in color, but much of the artistry and beauty has been lost.

The bronze door of two wings (each wing 15½ feet high and 3¾ feet wide; weight 1½ tons) and the bronze column (almost 12½ feet high and 1¾ feet in diameter; weight 7.7 tons) are the best known works of Bernward. Technically the doors are unique, for they are the oldest bronze portals extant that are ornamented with reliefs and that were cast in one piece; perhaps, they are the first example of their kind in history. Certainly unique and original was Bernward's parallelism in arranging his reliefs on the doors; the left wing depicts in eight reliefs Old Testament scenes (Genesis reliefs) while the right wing portrays, also in eight reliefs, New Testament scenes (Atonement reliefs). They were intended to preach a sermon on penance to all sinners. The column pictures the public life of Christ in twenty-four scenes representing twenty-eight episodes; these run in a spiral that winds approximately eight times about the shaft.

Saint Michael's Church is likewise a unique and individualized creation of Bishop Bernward, a felicitous combination of Carolingian and Byzantine elements. Besides describing the various parts of the edifice and its history, this last chapter gives us in translation the results of the latest researches concerning Saint Michael's conducted by Joseph Bohland, Jr. The ravages of war and the vandalism of the Protestants, rather than of time, have taken their toll of Bernward's works. We are very grateful to Dr. Tschan for this outstanding contribution, notably to the history of mediaeval art.

GEORGE J. UNDREINER

Pontifical College Josephinum

The Grey Friars in Cambridge, 1225-1538. By John R. H. Moorman. (Cambridge: At the University Press. 1952. Pp. viii, 277. $7.00.)

Dr. A. G. Little in 1942 said: "Fifty years ago, I wrote a book about the Grey Friars in Oxford. Since then I have often urged Cambridge

friends to write the history of the Grey Friars in Cambridge. My efforts have not been successful." Were he alive today he would have to delete his last sentence, for Dr. Moorman has written that history.

It is a scholarly story, well told, from the friars' simple and unostentatious beginnings (the only place they could find in the crowded mediaeval Oxford was part of a dilapidated building, the other half of which was the local jail, and they must needs share a common door with the jail-keepers—"an intolerable situation" as Eccleston wrote), on through their relationships with and great influence on the University of Cambridge, down to their expulsion from the university and English intellectual life by the greedy agents of Henry VIII.

The change which the Franciscan order underwent, that remarkable "alliance of learning with poverty," in the years following the death of St. Francis is clearly indicated, and the development of the order in England provides another example of the transformation of wandering friars into the compact, intellectual instrument which served the Church so well. The general scheme of studies worked out for the intellectual education of the friars called for a lecturer in each convent, not only to provide the groundwork for novices and younger friars, but also to keep the community preachers up to the mark. Then, there were the advanced schools in each custody and finally, at the top, the schools for the friars at the universities. The similarity with the Dominican plan is noteworthy, confirming Dom Knowles' judgments on the Dominican influence on Franciscan educational planning. However, even in the houses destined primarily for students, as was the Cambridge house, the friars were to do their share of the begging and were instructed to go out *confidenter*.

The friars and the university in the thirteenth century, the story of their parish activities at Cambridge and notes on their work as parish missionaries, their difficulties with university officials and *vice versa* in the fourteenth century, their problems with their critics, among them Fitzralph, the part that Lollardy played in their history during the fifteenth century, and finally, the dissolution—all these form chapters, albeit brief ones, in the story. It is well to note that the friars were not struck by the first anti-monastic act in 1536 which was directed at the monasteries with large estates and fewer members; but two years later, when the great robbery was perfected, the general destruction of all religious orders was purposed and achieved and in this wholesale confiscation the Franciscans, like the rest, were destroyed. A valuable series of brief biographical notes on the various members of the Cambridge house forms almost one-half of the entire book.

The Franciscans at Cambridge did their part in parish work and in helping the poor, but their chief contribution was on the intellectual side of mediaeval Christianity. Without them Cambridge might never have

had a faculty of theology; with them it had one of international reputation. They had made their peace with the officials and in the fifteenth century had become fully integrated in the university. Had not Tudor despotism overtaken the religious life in sixteenth-century England, the Cambridge house would have continued its important contribution to the intellectual life of the country. But they fell afoul of evil days and eviler men. For long centuries their work has been shrouded in the obscurity of ignorance, bigotry, and pure neglect. In Dr. Moorman they have found at long last a scholarly and sympathetic historian.

LOWRIE J. DALY

Saint Louis University

The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal. By Margaret Rickert. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1952. Pp. 150. 60 plates. $10.00.)

This book is a record of scholarship, ingenuity, patience, and scientific devotion. There appeared in the British Museum in 1874 two scrapbooks containing nearly 2,000 mounted clippings, more than fifty being exquisitely historiated initials and the rest fragments of marginal decoration, all cut out of what was obviously an exceptionally fine example of manuscript illumination, and executed in at least three distinct styles. The conjectural identification of one of the hands as that of the painter of the Turin *Book of Hours* raised the interesting possibility of shedding some light on the origin of the new style that suddenly pervaded English miniature-painting after 1400. Since these styles could not be properly studied until their relationship to one another within the manuscript had been determined, the delicate labor of reconstruction was undertaken by Miss Rickert of the University of Chicago, who worked at the museum between 1933 and 1938. Eventually, and after the discovery of other scrapbooks of cuttings from the same source, almost 1,600 fragments were reset in proper order, mounted so that both recto and verso were exposed. The resultant volume proved to be a Carmelite Missal, written in London, probably at Whitefriars, between 1376 and 1391.

With this new source available for the study of the mediaeval derived rites, students of liturgy will naturally wish to turn to it for a solution to some hitherto unsolved questions in that field. One of these questions is the date of the introduction of the *Salve Regina* after Mass. Here the date of the missal is too late to be of help, since the recitation of the anthem was prescribed, perhaps as early as 1321, certainly by 1328. It is not in the ordinal of Sibert. The present manuscript merely directs, in a still unplaced fragment, that the anthem be recited immediately after the *Placeat;* no mention is made of the blessing, quite in harmony with

Rubric XLI of Sibert. Another point of interest, and one generally controverted, is the date of introduction into England of the solemn commemoration of Our Lady, i.e., of the vision of St. Simon Stock. The Mass proper to the commemoration is contained in the manuscript, but in half-size lettering, even the *Flos Carmeli* being transcribed in full despite the lack of space, as if the whole insertion were an afterthought and as if the text of the sequence were unfamiliar; while the rival Mass of the Assumption is given in large ornamental lettering, introduced by one of the most elaborately illuminated initials in the manuscript, and adorned marginally with medallions portraying miracles of Our Lady. This contrast may be an echo of the controversy which, as we know, divided the English Carmelites after 1376, the *post* date of the missal, when the prior general was defeated in his efforts to have the Assumption adopted as the principal feast of the confraternity of the order. There also seems to be a dislocation of Ps. LXXVIII, prescribed by the ordinal of Sibert to be sung immediately after the *Pater Noster*. Here it occurs after the complete canon—an arrangement, however, found elsewhere and indicative merely of the local variant form of the rite.

In general, there is some light cast upon a few minor points of interest in Carmelite liturgy, as the missal bridges the former gap of the late fourteenth century, and helps to narrow dates *post* and *ante* in some lesser disputed questions; but the hitherto controverted issues of importance still remain so. In fact, the historiated miniatures are the most important contribution of this manuscript to liturgy as they are to art.

JOHN T. FEENEY

Saint John's Seminary
Brighton

Le nazioni al Concilio di Trento durante la sua epoca imperiale, 1545-1552. By Igino Rogger. (Roma: Orbis Catholicus, rappresentanza della Casa Herder. 1952. Pp. 274.)

It is well known that nationalism, which did so much to disrupt Christendom in the sixteenth century, had already played a very large role in the great reform councils of the fifteenth century. The Council of Constance, for instance, was organized by "nations," and deliberated and voted by nations. It might look at that time as if the Church were about to dissolve into a federation of national churches under the nominal presidency of the Pope. If this nationalist peril was for the time being averted by the victory of the Papacy, it might have been expected to recur a century later during the tremendous crisis that confronted the Council of Trent.

Father Igino Rogger, professor of church history in the theological seminary of Trent, has, therefore, set himself to study how this problem was met during the first and second periods of that council's sessions (1545-1549, 1551-1552). His monograph is based mainly upon printed sources, although he has adduced a few new documents from various archives. He begins with a useful introduction, which surveys the importance of the nationalist factor in all the previous councils from the First Council of Lyons (1245) onward. His conclusions, on coming to his main theme, may be summarized as follows.

Rome had in advance very decisively determined that the Council of Trent was not to be organized by nations, and that voting should be, according to the ancient rule, *per capita singulorum*. Through various circumstances it happened that no nations were very numerously represented during these periods of the council except the Spaniards and Italians. The Spaniards, though loyally accepting the Roman primacy and rejecting the Gallican theory of the supreme authority of general councils, were inclined to press for radical reforms which might encroach dangerously upon the prerogatives of the Holy See. This danger would have been very great if Charles V had succeeded in his plan of sending to the council only a small group of hand-picked and well-instructed prelates, equipped with proxies from all the other bishops of the Spanish dominions, and with proxies entitling them to such a huge number of votes as might have built up a strong Spanish and anti-papal majority. This plan Rome thwarted "with fulminating rapidity," through the bull *Decet nos* (April 17, 1545), which ordered all bishops who were able to do so to attend the council in person, forbade the use of proxies for all bishops who were not legitimately detained, and denied to all proxies the right to vote. Nevertheless, the Spanish prelates, the one strong and compact Transalpine national group, with the best of intentions still furnished the papal legates a vast amount of trouble throughout both these periods of the council. But they were constantly overbalanced in voting by a majority of Italian bishops devoted to the Holy See. The author admits that these Italians, in great part, were subsidized by Rome, and that many of them may have been influenced by hopes of advancement or of favors. But he insists that in consistently defending the papal authority they were but voicing the sentiments of the whole Italian nation, which in its existing miserable political situation saw in the Papacy its one remaining hope and treasure and glory.

The author is to be commended for his objectivity, his perfect frankness, his consistent tendency to avoid condemning or apologizing for any group, but rather to understand the men of that time. He is scholarly, well informed, and accurate (apart from a woeful arbitrariness in the rendition of Polish names [pp. 106-107]). It is to be hoped that he will

complete this study with an investigation of the last period of the council (1562-1563), when, with a larger attendance, national groups became still more important.

ROBERT H. LORD

St. Paul's Church
Wellesley, Massachusetts

Histoire de l'église en Belgique. Volume V. *L'église des Pays-Bas, 1559-1633.* By E. Moreau, S.J. [Museum Lessianum—Section Historique, No. 15.] (Bruxelles: L'edition universelle, S.A., Desclée de Brouwer. 1952. Pp. 544. 325 fr. belges.)

Père Moreau died during the year, but not before he had finished his monument. *Deo gratias et requiescat in pace.* Under review is Volume V of his superb work, the fruit of a lifetime's scholarly striving, and Volume VI is in press. The very high level of scholarship, which won the praise of the late Augustin Fliche, continues here and those who have compared the author to Albert Hauck need have no regrets.

The seventy-five years treated here take us through the Tridentine reorganization and reform, the impact of Calvinism, and the ensuing revival of the old faith. In his marshaling of materials one cannot help but note that the author is hampered by the lack of unity in the Belgian Church. Unlike England and France, assemblies of the clergy on a national level did not take place and but rarely on a provincial level. Christian art is given separate treatment and again by Jacques Lavalleye of the University of Louvain. His presentation has the bare completeness and exactness of a blueprint.

For general interest the following are noted. Before the reform the Bishop of Ruremonde found only six of his 200 priests observing celibacy, and confirmed at Nymegen where the sacrament had not been administered for one hundred years (p. 45). The general Alexander Farnese organized a very effective chaplains' corps (pp. 266-267). Released-time disputants should know that Protestantism must be given credit for having organized the religious education of the young and for publishing the first catechisms (p. 342). Jesuit and Capuchin houses built "at the far end of the garden" pesthouses where, not the afflicted would stay, but the brethren who were dedicated to treating the afflicted, hundreds of whom paid with their lives (pp. 397-398). Though Webster records "to gyp" as American slang, its lineage is old: *Aegyptii,* magicians (p. 360); *giptes,* fortune-tellers (p. 370); the racial and nomadic gypsy is not yet in the picture. Père Moreau had good reason to thank his proofreader by name in the introduction. One marvels at the care. *Errata:* for *vivaires* read *vicaires* (p.

49,1.13); for *,en,* read *-en-* (p. 411,1.7); for *XVI* read *XIV* (p. 421,1.17); for *Tomas* read *Thomas* (p. 433,1.18).

CHARLES H. LYNCH

Our Lady of Providence Seminary

Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi, sive summorum pontificum s.r.e. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series, E documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta digesta edita. Volumen quintum. A pontificatu Clementis PP IX (1667) usque ad pontificatum Benedicti XIII (1730). By Remigius Ritzler, O.F.M. Conv., and Pirminus Seferin, O.F.M.Conv. (Patavii: Typis librariae *Il Messagero di San Antonio.* Apud Basilicam S. Antonii. 1952. Pp. x, 457. $15.00.)

The present work lists in chronological order the names of all the popes, cardinals, and bishops (both ordinaries and titular) elected, created, or appointed between 1667 and 1730, i.e., from Pope Clement IX (1667-1689) to Benedict XIII (1724-1730) inclusive. It marks the fifth of a series of similar volumes compiled by Conrad Eubel, O.F.M.Conv. Volume I covered the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216) and that of the other popes down to the close of the pontificate of Martin V (1417-31) (ed. 1898); Volume II embraced the years 1431-1503 (ed. 1901; 2nd ed. 1904); Volume III (1503-1592), begun by a diocesan priest, Father Van Gulik, but continued after the latter's death by Eubel (ed. 1910; 2nd ed. 1923); and Volume IV (1592-1667) executed by a North American priest, Patrick Gauchat, O.F.M.Conv. (ed. 1935). This latest volume was edited by two German priests of the Order Friars Minor Conventual, Remigius Ritzler and Pirminus Seferin.

The credit for having begun a repertoire of all the popes, cardinals, and bishops of the whole Catholic world is due to the illustrious Joseph Cardinal Garampi, who before having been appointed apostolic nuncio and later cardinal, had been prefect of the Vatican Archives from 1751 to 1772. It was in this capacity especially that he began to realize that no authentic history of the Church could ever be written without the names of the popes, cardinals, and bishops first having been obtained from authentic sources, namely, the acts of the Consistorial Congregation and the Secret Archives of the Vatican. He felt that what Ughelli had done for Italy, the Benedictine Maurists for France, and Florez for Spain, someone had to do for the Church Universal. Thus he began collecting material for his *Orbis christianus;* but the work was never completed despite the fact that he had written out personally thousands of index cards on the matter. These were, however, later incorporated into the

indici of the Secret Archives of the Vatican consisting of 125 volumes in folio. This material was first utilized by the Benedictine, Boniface Gams, who in 1885 issued his *Series episcoporum* beginning with St. Peter and ending (in 1885) with Leo XIII. But whereas the work was considered a monumental achievement in his day, it suffered from grave defects, due to the fact that Leo XIII had not as yet opened the Secret Archives of the Vatican to the general public.

When the archives were finally opened Gams himself began to realize that whereas there was little new documentary evidence for data preceding the thirteenth century, from that time on there was such an abundance of material to be consulted that his own work must still be considered rather defective. This gave Eubel his chance to edit the first volume of his series, based on all the Vatican documents, beginning with Innocent III (1198-1216). The work as now continued by his successors embraces five volumes and extends from 1198 to 1730.

The *Hierarchia ecclesiastica*, as can readily be seen, is indispensable for anyone doing serious ecclesiastical research. Not only is a short life of each pope from Innocent III to Benedict XIII (1198-1730) given, but also all essential data pertaining to the cardinals and bishops created or appointed by them. In Volume V the various dioceses (in Latin terminology) follow in alphabetical order with the names of the various bishops given in chronological sequence. This is followed (in Appendix I) by the names of all titular and auxiliary bishops appointed between 1667-1730 in any country of the Catholic world. Appendix II gives the names of all the metropolitan archdioceses and their suffragan sees; Appendix III gives the "vulgar" or common name of each diocese and the page on which it can be found; Appendix IV provides the family or religious name of each bishop. These appendices enhance immeasurably the value of the work and contribute practical aids for easy consultation and cross reference. Whereas the first four volumes were edited through the munificence of the Görresgesellschaft of Regensburg, the fifth was done by the printing establishment of the Basilica of St. Anthony at Padua and subsidized by the Minister General of the Order Friars Minor Conventuals, the Most Reverend Bede Hess, an American.

In pointing out the inestimable value of this work Luigi Berra in his review in *L'Osservatore Romano* of November 21, 1952, emphasizes not only the "scientific value of this monumental work, but also the spiritual comfort it should bring to every good Catholic: the proof of the admirable organization of the Church, her uninterrupted traditions, her force of expansion, and her unshakable resistance against all assaults." The well-known Dr. Hubert Jedin, writing from Bonn on September 19, 1952, asserts that "no scientific library, no archives of any importance whatsoever, no student of historical research touching on the era of Absolutism,

can forego this volume"—to which, from our own experience with previous volumes, we can give full consent.

RAPHAEL M. HUBER

The Catholic University of America

Le Pontificat de Pie IX (1846-1878). R. Aubert [*Histoire de l'église,* Volume 21.] (Paris: Bloud and Gay. 1952. Pp. 510. 1500 frs.)

In 1934 Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin began publication of a history of the Church in twenty-four volumes, three to appear each year; and later, two other volumes were added to the project—the concluding volume to contain alphabetical tables and index. The decision to omit an index in each individual volume was unwise to begin with; and, when the war years slowed up publication, the omission involved an unforeseen degree of annoyance. The volumes have not appeared in chronological order, and at least nine more must be completed before a general index will be possible. Without an index the readers of any historical work find it difficult to get at an author's whole mind about persons and events; and the difficulty is aggravated if the book deals with a subject like the complicated pontificate of Pio Nono, who ascending the throne as *il Papa Re* in 1846, died thirty-two years later, the "voluntary prisoner in the Vatican."

In the year following Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti's birth, France, at war with royalty and Christianity, guillotined Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette; a little later the Kingdom of Poland disappeared; soon afterward the ancient Holy Roman Empire passed away; by the time he was ordained priest the Congress of Vienna had redrawn the map of Europe. Named archbishop in 1827, cardinal in 1840, pope in 1846, Pius was on the throne but two years when the *Communist Manifesto* appeared. Before the end of his pontificate, the longest in history, anti-clerical Freemasons were in control of many once Catholic nations—old nations in Europe and young nations in the western hemisphere. Meanwhile a King of Italy had taken possession of Rome, and Bismarck had attacked Catholicism in his *Kulturkampf*. With practically the entire civilized world shaken by revolution, continental rulers and England's queen, by then Empress of India, struggled to survive by maintaining a discouragingly delicate balance of power. As for the intellectual field, the general confusion may be gathered from the errors listed in the papal syllabus of 1864, and in the program submitted to the Vatican Council a few years later. To appraise the Papacy's reaction—positive and negative—to the social, political, and religious pressure of these times M. Aubert had to study an enormous mass of original sources and also the writings of scholars who had earlier studied those sources.

The sections that deal with France are of particular interest, because France in this period afforded a rather startling preview of the era about to dawn on the Church in Europe. Drawing largely on the standard histories of the Church and on the publications of G. Weill, the author pictures vividly the spread of religious decay in France during the third quarter of the nineteenth century; and he focuses attention upon now commonly recognized mistakes and defects—the apathy, the lack of vision, the externalism, the violent partisanship which, two years before the death of Pius IX, gave Gambetta an excuse for his famous epigram which identified clericalism as the real enemy of national progress.

It was not so easy to secure information about the British Isles and the United States as about the continental countries. But with regard to England, M. Aubert had at hand two masterpieces by Thureau-Dangin and Halévy, and also the excellent biographies of Ullathorne, Wiseman, Newman, Manning, and a considerable literature on Lord Acton. When he turned to the United States, he faced a gap (soon to be filled, we anticipate, by Father Henry J. Browne's life of Hughes); but he had a translation of Maynard's *Story of American Catholicism*, and many other valuable works including Shearer's *Pontificia Americana*, and Guilday's *Pastorals of the American Hierarchy* and *History of the Councils of Baltimore* and the French translation of Elliott's *Life of Father Hecker*. The reader will note the author's general sympathy with the English-speaking world, and his appreciative study of Newman's *Grammar of Assent*. There is a mischievous Gallic touch in the reference to Antonelli who, in 1850, told Pope Pius that the idea of creating an American cardinal was "ridiculous."

Prospective readers of M. Aubert's book would do well to look first at the concluding section, "Le bilan d'un pontificat." Here, looking back after three-quarters of a century, the author strikes a balance in favor of the Pope. He finds the Church in no small measure indebted to Pius IX for the strengthening of central authority, the clarifying of doctrine, the deepening of the pastoral spirit throughout the priesthood, the spreading of popular devotion. He notes, however, that Pius—apparently in his own opinion, and certainly in the judgment of some of his best friends—lived too long. Manning who visited Rome in 1876 was "disenchanted"; he lamented the lack of vision and of young blood, and the general stagnation. Less adaptable and less diplomatic than his successor would prove to be, Pius was unable to deal with the dilemmas thrust upon him by a social order in transit from an agricultural to an industrial phase, from monarchy to democracy. Widespread and aggressive hostility on the part of political and intellectual leaders forced him to seek refuge among the defenders of reaction. Here and there individual Catholic leaders were alert, to be sure; but on the whole those in authority were opposed to

making terms; and the Pope's counsellors frightened by rationalists, communists, democrats, pseudo-scientists, pushed him toward anathematizing without waiting to consider the advisability of delay and negotiation. "Well meaning, but unintelligent!" is the author's comment. Time was wasted; precious things had been lost forever before the next pontificate began. Indeed, M. Aubert believes that official short-sightedness indirectly fostered the growth of certain tendencies which later developed into modernism.

The book will be recognized as an informative, well-documented piece of work by scholars—even those who hesitate to accept all of its conclusions; and the average intelligent reader—perhaps, unexpectedly—will find it an engrossing narrative. Summarized skillfully, translated into English, properly indexed, and published as a separate volume, it would in all probability circulate widely on both sides of the Atlantic.

JOSEPH MCSORLEY

Church of St. Paul the Apostle
New York City

L'action sociale des Catholiques en France (1871-1901). By Henri Rollet. (Paris: Boivin et Cie. 1952. Pp. 725.)

The French have excelled in social history, and French Catholics have not neglected an area which holds the key to the trials of the Church in her modern period. Close after J. B. Duroselle's magnificent *Les debuts du catholicisme social en France, 1822-1870,* the publication of this volume makes available a full picture of the social activities of French Catholics in the nineteenth century. Professor Rollet's book, like its companion study, is massively documented from private and public archives and printed sources. The bibliography notes, with melancholy, how many important collections have been lost in the two world wars.

The present volume does not alter the broad outlines of what has already been known. It does fill in the details and emphasizes the human factors which modified the Catholic effort to implement the traditional social interest of the Church in the new industrial environment. The account opens in the shadow of the Commune, which revealed the terrifying hatred of Catholicism in a large sector of the population. The earlier Catholic social movements had withered in the uncongenial atmosphere of the Second Empire. There was still a wide variety of charitable activities, some of which contained a social germ if they could be inspired by a new understanding of class relationships in an industrial society.

Dr. Rollet's work covers the attempt to fill this gap. The largest section covers the story of the social Catholics, who gave themselves the

impossible task of remaking society in their own image without the slightest regard for the objective condition of that society. They attempted an alliance of the nobility and the working class, directed by the former, to strip the bourgeoisie of it privileges. But the nobility was weak and divided. Their paternalism, their insistance on "corporations," and their political intransigence vitiated their efforts. De Mun's, "We are the Counter-Revolution!" explains why their *cercles* never enlisted more than 35,000 workers. Failing to comprehend the profound dechristianization of France, they preached their crusade in a desert. The Christian Democrats had no such handicap—they accepted the Revolution. But they were preoccupied with political objectives; they did not have the technical competence to develop able leaders or a stable organization; and their anti-Semitism led them to disaster in the Dreyfus case.

By 1901 the social Catholics were isolated and without national influence, while the Christian Democrats had nearly disappeared. On the eve of separation of Church and State, thirty years of sacrifice seemed barren of results. But the future in 1901 was not without promise. Catholics had been forced to study the new social conditions; some new methods had been learned; some modest new organizations were coming to grips with actual conditions.

American Catholics could well ponder this account, so ably set forth. Some might be stimulated to approach our own social history with equal scholarship.

JOSEPH N. MOODY

Cathedral College
New York City

Pie X. Essai historique. Volume I. *De Riese au Vatican.* By Pierre Fernessole. (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1952. Pp. 256. 550 frs.)

The author of this volume holds the chair of papal history in the Catholic Institute of Paris, and has written several books on the modern history of the Church in France. His latest work, which is to be followed by a larger volume dealing solely with the pontificate of Pius X, traces the career of Joseph Sarto from his birth in the Venetian village of Riese in 1835, to his coronation as Pope Pius X in August, 1903. It is based largely on the material gathered during the apostolic processes conducted in Treviso, Mantua, Venice, and Rome prior to the beatification of Pius X, in addition to information available from other sources, so that it is exceptionally reliable.

In telling the wonderful story of Pius Father Fernessole has avoided two major errors into which so many who have written on the same

subject have fallen. The first is allowing their judgment of men and events to be influenced by what we all see now as we look back on the reign of Pius X, and to think that his contemporaries could and should have seen or guessed what we know. There is, for instance, no evidence that Cardinal Sarto had any appreciable influence on the policies of Leo XIII, and there is every reason to believe that his election to the Papacy astounded the Roman Curia, to which, as to most of the Catholic world, he was an unknown factor.

The second great error is exaggerating the obvious differences in background and training that distinguish him from aristocratic diplomats like Leo XIII and Benedict XV. Though he came from very humble circumstances, Pius X was an exceptionally intelligent and well-trained priest, with administrative talents of the highest order. His success in Mantua and Venice would prove that, even if he had never become Pope. During the modernist crisis and his struggle with the French anti-clericals, his enemies made much of what they chose to consider his "ignorance" and "inexperience." They did so to belittle him. Some Catholics have stressed the same points with the intention of magnifying his achievements and praising the *magnalia Dei*. Both groups do violence to the truth. Few Popes have had his extensive experience of the problems encountered in parochial and diocesan work, or could equal him in knowledge of the needs and attitudes of the ordinary Catholic people. The drastic and salutary changes he was to make in the inner life of the Church and in her organization are proof of this.

Father Fernessole gives an interesting and detailed account of the conclave of 1903, and disposes of the widespread legend that the Austrian veto was the determining factor in the failure of the Rampolla candidacy. Unfortunately, it is the last conclave for which such information is available. Historians are free to hope that the decree of Pius X imposing absolute secrecy in such matters is one of his reforms that will not last.

FLORENCE D. COHALAN

Cathedral College
New York City

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Science and Religion in American Thought. The Impact of Naturalism. By Edward A. White. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1952. Pp. viii, 117. $2.50.)

This slender volume can scarcely pretend to treat adequately the totality of the relationships between religion and science in American thought.

Actually, Professor White should have limited his topic in many ways. In the first place he has fallen into the terminology very common in the American press a generation ago, in which religion and science were usually portrayed as two organized bodies contesting for the mind of man. The basic fallacy of that picture was that the "science" of that mythology did not exist. At all times there have been religious scientists who found no contradiction whatever between their religious faith and their scientific pursuits. As a matter of fact, the "scientists" who attacked religion in the nineteenth century were for the most part philosophers and writers about science who aspired to the role of popes or inquisitors of a new positivistic religion. Professor White is himself a believer in supernatural religion and merely endeavors to narrate the story of the chief positivistic writers on the subject of the relation between religion and science.

Examined with this limitation in mind, the brief accounts of John William Draper, Andrew White, John Fiske, and others are quite well done. In the case of Draper particularly, it is clear that he did not accept religion as valid truth. As Professor White says, Draper took for granted that religion had yielded its control of intellectual inquiry and retreated into an inferior position. Yet Draper retained enough of the Christian tradition to feel the necessity to return to religion, but to a religion that had been remade according to the all powerful science to which he really gave his faith. With natural law supreme, religious dogma was to him an artificial creation of the Church which should yield to the advance of science. Practically speaking, Draper would have created a religion of science.

Andrew White found religion in conflict with science because he considered religion a mediaeval creation which should yield to the modern world. In that sense White found conflict between science and religion only insofar as religion was mediaeval. Of course, dogmatic theology was to him mediaeval. In his version of the conflict between science and religion, religion would be defeated by an all victorious science which would brush away biblical texts and ancient modes of thought. Professor White places John Fiske alongside Draper and White, although he admits that Fiske found no real conflict between religion and science because he had submerged what he retained of Christianity in his social Darwinism.

In treating of the pragmatic versions of the conflict between religion and science Professor White finds William James not unfriendly to religion. James regarded religion as merely the world of personal experience, but as in all pragmatic concepts the validity of religious dogmas depended upon their utility. James had laid the groundwork for John Dewey's denial of the validity of all religious experience. Professor White does not bring out very clearly that in this pragmatism, or instrumentalism, there is a basic dogma of agnosticism which is self-contradictory. White does imply

the logical development of this American "scientism" or "positivism" from the Draper rejection of the validity of religious truth.

The final chapter dealing with the legal battles over the teaching of evolution shows the so-called conflict between science and religion in its real setting, because neither Clarence Darrow nor William Jennings Bryan represent science and religion. Yet they had just as much right to speak for them as the popular philosophers who carried on the paper warfare between science and religion in the nineteenth century. While Professor White admits that he himself does not subscribe to the naturalism of the men he discusses, he does not expose clearly the basic denial of the validity of religious truth which permitted these naturalists to win their "victories" over "papal" religions and dogmas. He wisely refrains from drawing any conclusions from so incomplete and imperfect an account of the American conflict between religion and science in the last hundred years.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

University of Notre Dame

The Catholic Church in the Diocese of St. Paul. By James M. Reardon. (St. Paul: Chancery Office. 1952. Pp. xv, 726. $4.50.)

This handsome volume represents a literary contribution to the centenary in 1950 of the Archdiocese of St. Paul. The first chapters deal with Redmen, explorers, and missionaries. Stress is placed on such early Catholic rallying points as Fort Beauharnois, Pembina, Grand Portage, and St. Paul, which are combined with exceptional outlines of the problems confronting missionaries like Guignas, Belcourt, Galtier, and Ravoux, all of whom appear very much alive in finely drawn sketches. The narrative is planned around the five prelates who have shepherded the diocese, including the present chief pastor. Though hazardous because of its threat to a continuous topical sequence, this method has been successfully used by the author, particularly in the case of the first two bishops, because they fit in admirably with the continuity of the pioneer period. Archbishop Ireland does not appear violently detached because his administration embraces both pioneer and contemporary conditions. The last two ordinaries seem a bit detached from the story, especially the latest one, because the narrative takes on progressively the form of a chronicle. However, the overall picture is very good and only needs the golden frame of comparative history, which was waived in favor of others by the author.

The volume presents satisfactory views of the Indian missions together with workers like Belcourt, Pierz, and Ravoux, who appear set in relief by graphic details. The cause of total abstinence runs through a good deal of the book and is a contribution to the history of the movement,

particularly under Archbishop Ireland. The subject of education is well done, especially under the last two archbishops, who also have made the Archdiocese of St. Paul outstanding in the field of journalism.

The milestones on the route of a century are church organization by Bishop Cretin, canonical establishment by Bishop Grace, colonization by Archbishop Ireland, education by Archbishop Dowling, and spiritual intensification by Archbishop Murray. The chapter on Ireland rates a blue ribbon, particularly for its presentation of the controversies over nationalism, school aid, and Americanism, all of which are suffused with the fugitive forces of temperaments and psychological tantrums. For example, the author reveals that Archbishop Ireland never regarded the Faribault plan as more than a contingency, which, however, a good many of his opponents mistook for an absolute principle.

Sources were limited by the writer to local depots which he exploited fully. Monsignor Reardon's training is derived from his education, assignments, and practice. At various times in his long life he has filled the posts of editor, seminary professor, director of the diocesan missionary band, and pastor. He has produced a piece of historical writing which is based upon long labor and, best of all, upon mature reflection, thereby exemplifying in a high degree the scholastic maxim: *contemplata aliis tradere*. He now takes a place among that select group of non-professional historians, who have written some of the best historical works published in the United States.

The book features photographic reproductions of the prelates and primitive chapels, and includes thumb-nail sketches of all parishes (1841-1951), a catalogue of priests and clerical honors, footnotes in the rear, and a good index.

PETER LEO JOHNSON

St. Francis Seminary
Milwaukee

Venerable John Neumann, C.SS.R., Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia, 1852-1860. By Michael J. Curley, C.SS.R. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 547. $6.50.)

In this scholarly and edifying book Father Curley has drawn richly on American and European archives to write the definitive biography of his saintly confrère, the fourth Bishop of Philadelphia. Realizing the inadequacy of the work done by Neumann's nephew, John N. Berger, C.SS.R., in 1884, Father Curley was inspired to undertake the present volume. Assuring us that his study is based "fundamentally on manuscript sources," he portrays his subject as youth and seminarian in Bohemia,

as diocesan priest in western New York under Bishop John Dubois, and as faithful member of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer which he entered in 1840, becoming its first novice professed in the United States.

By January 2, 1851, when John Neumann was named rector of St. Alphonsus Church, Baltimore, he had held all the higher offices of his order in this country. When Francis Patrick Kenrick came to Baltimore as the new archbishop in August he selected Neumann as his confessor and was so impressed by the latter's spiritual wisdom that the Redemptorist's name found a place on the *terna* for the still vacant See of Philadelphia. Neumann was appointed to Philadelphia on March 1, 1852, and consecrated March 28 in order that he might participate in the First Plenary Council of Baltimore scheduled to open on May 8.

Bishop Neumann's brief episcopate of eight years culminated with his sudden death in 1860. His profound humility had prompted him to shrink from the honor, but he finally accepted it as the will of God. Significantly he chose as his motto, "Passio Christi, conforta me." Because he was small of stature and extremely modest and humble in demeanor some felt that he was not suited for an influential see like Philadelphia. As bishop, Neumann faced many difficult problems—Nativism, church property legislation, a strong remnant of trusteeism, as well as "hard times" leading to financial panic in 1857. He became at once an apostle of Catholic education in building parochial schools wherever possible. His visitations occupied several months of each year, for the Diocese of Philadelphia was extensive in area and then numbered about 200,000 souls. But it was thus that he exemplified that heroic virtue which may one day make him a canonized saint.

Father Curley's best chapter, "Travail of Soul," deals with a hitherto unwritten phase of Pennsylvania Catholic history. In 1855 Neumann sought a division of his diocese, offering to take the new see himself. Pottsville was suggested as the see city of the new diocese. For two years the proposal was debated by the bishops of the Province of Baltimore and by the Propaganda officials, but Neumann's idea was eventually rejected in 1857 and he was given a coadjutor in the person of James F. Wood, not, however, until he had become the victim of much misunderstanding. In stressing the continued opposition to Neumann of Bishop Michael O'Connor, the author becomes one of the first to deal with the rather touchy problem of Pittsburgh's enigmatic bishop. The strange actions of that prelate from 1852 to 1860, when he resigned his see to become a Jesuit, have long puzzled historians, but Father Curley's judgments are restrained and sound. Only the definitive biography of O'Connor, whenever such appears, will enable us to appraise his true character.

The reviewer would call attention to one minor error. When, as vice-

gerent (1847-1849) Neumann received Father Robert Kleinendam and Peter Steinbacher into the Redemptorists, the latter was not "a seminarian" (p. 137). He had been ordained by Bishop Kenrick in 1840 and served as pastor of St. Mary's Church, Erie, from 1841 to 1844. In fact, Kleinendam was Steinbacher's immediate successor in the Erie parish, remaining there until 1846. The former seems to have been at Butler and the latter at Reading just previous to becoming Redemptorists.

An unusual arrangement of the notes at the end of the volume by page as well as by chapter enhances the usefulness of the book. The charming foreword by the Most Reverend Amleto G. Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, is another evidence of that prelate's constant interest in the subject of American sanctity.

CHARLES A. COSTELLO

St. Venantius Church
Rouseville, Pennsylvania

In Charity Unfeigned. The Life of Father Francis X Pierz. By William P. Furlan. (St. Cloud: Diocese of St. Cloud. 1952. Pp. x, 270. $3.50.)

This is the story of the pioneer priest, Father Francis Xavier Pierz. For most readers the account of the coming of the priests to the Great Lakes country will be new and will give added comprehension of the difficulties the missionaries faced. Father Pierz comes forth from these pages as a rugged individualist, filled with zeal beyond average for the conversion of souls. He was past youth before he had the call to the missionary life and left his native Carniola for the Diocese of Detroit. The few hints thrown out concerning differences of opinion between Father Pierz and Bishop Rese are tantalizing. One suspects that had the author been less ambiguous in his treatment of these very natural differences both men would have emerged as more alive and human than is now the case. It is by such frail ties as these clashes represent that the otherwise heroic becomes credible to us of a later generation.

Father Furlan has done a creditable job in presenting this account of the pioneer priests. In general the book is well written, well organized, and well illustrated. The hardship, both material and spiritual, is indicated but it is not overemphasized. The spiritual and material good which resulted from Pierz's activity receives a greater space in the account than do the drawbacks he experienced.

An appendix gives Father Pierz's brief description of Minnesota from his *Die Indianer in Nord-Amerika.* By placing the notes at the end of each chapter, Father Furlan has aided both the casual reader and the student; the former by not intruding the signs of scholarship, and the latter by

noting the sources of his information. The bibliography indicates the amount of research necessary for the writing of a book of this type. There is also an adequate index of names and places, and a map of the area is printed on the end papers. A typographical error brings Pierz to Detroit some days before he arrived at New York (pp. 43 and 46). The introduction of large sections of explanatory historical material slows up the narrative and adds nothing to the portrayal of Father Pierz, but rather tends to overshadow him.

PETER BECKMAN

St. Benedict's College

GENERAL HISTORY

The Great Frontier. By Walter Prescott Webb. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1952. Pp. ix, 419. $5.00.)

The discovery of the new world made known to Europe a great frontier of incalculable wealth. Exploitation of the vast new region caused an unprecedented four hundred-year boom which came to an end only at the beginning of the present century. For the world of plenty resulting from the treasure yielded by virgin lands, an economic-political system of laissez-faire was suitable, perhaps inevitable. But the great frontier is now a densely settled area which no longer affords immense tracts of land to the ambitious. Economic opportunity has, therefore, tended to become relatively scarce, and increasing regulation of human activities has been employed as a means of assuring a sufficiency to all. Such is the thesis powerfully advanced by Walter Prescott Webb in his superb interpretive study, *The Great Frontier*. On the basis of this hypothesis, it would appear that the present trend in the history of the United States and western Europe may be explained not so much by increasing social consciousness and the rise of labor and farm groups, as by the fact that changing society could no longer operate under an institutional pattern adapted to a boom period. If Professor Webb's reasoning is correct, the broadening controls exercised by modern governments are not the result of the application of questionable theories, but the inexorable response to a condition of comparative scarcity. A return, then, to the days of unregulated competition cannot be reasonably expected; it is only to be hoped that political machines will rise to the moral responsibilities imposed upon them by expanded power.

The influence of the frontier in shaping political, social, and economic institutions seems to have been particularly manifest in the United States. When Professor Webb attempts to apply his interpretive principles to the other regions discovered in the modern era and comprising the re-

mainder of the great frontier, he encounters difficulties. A distressing over-simplification is apparent in his attributing to the Catholic Church sole responsibility for the fact that old world institutions did not succumb to the abrasive influence of the frontier so rapidly nor so completely in South America as in the northern region of the continent. The contrast in Spanish and Anglo-Saxon political institutions may better explain divergencies in North and South American frontier civilization. Spain during the colonial period proceeded toward the establishment of centralism in much more determined fashion than England. Resulting differences in institutional development were extended into the new world. English officialdom, especially in the earlier stages, did not match the zeal of Spanish administrators in seeking to establish strict supervision and central control. Anglo-Saxon settlers, therefore, abandoned themselves more completely to the new world forces of nature. Furthermore, certain authorities now argue that tendencies by some Latin American governments toward increased government intervention represent not a response to a new situation, but rather an attempt to return to a temporarily abandoned old world tradition, initiated in Roman times.

Doubtlessly, attempts will be made to discount the conclusions contained in this work by pointing out that new frontiers of science and technology will result in sufficient expansion of opportunity to permit continuance of the old traditions of individualism. That these new frontiers will ever be of such significance as to match the effect of the frontier of new land on the lives of countless individuals may well be doubted. Nevertheless, there is nothing necessarily pessimistic in this inference. Even if it is true, as Professor Webb suggests, that opportunity for self-development through economic activity is disappearing, future generations may adjust to the new environment by placing greater emphasis upon the fulfillment of nature that comes from intellectual, artistic, and spiritual pursuits.

FREDERIK B. PIKE

University of Texas

Shakespeare and Catholicism. By H. Mutschmann and K. Wentersdorf. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1952. Pp. xvii, 446. $6.00.)

The authors of this volume state in the preface that they have attempted to gather all the evidence which may be thought to throw light on the precise nature of Shakespeare's religious belief. It is, of course, clear from the outset, if it is not clear from the title itself, that this book will be written from a pro-Catholic point of view. They begin by giving us in Part One the background of the religious situation in Shakespeare's England, against which they will place the evidence, and they do this

very well. The evidence in this case is partly external and partly internal. The external evidence has to do with Shakespeare's Catholic parents, school experiences, marriage, departure from Stratford, and choice of profession. These matters are treated at length in Part Two and Part Three. In Part Four which is, perhaps, the most interesting section of the book, they treat of Shakespeare's friends—his city friends and his country friends. Whatever we may think of the assumption underlying this long (70 pages) inquiry, viz., that a man chooses his friends primarily or, at least, partially on the basis of similarity in spiritual and moral outlook (p. 107), the undertaking plainly involved a good deal of painstaking labor, and it seems well done. The presentation of the external evidence is completed with Part Five, which deals with Shakespeare's last years and treats such matters as his will, death, and burial. While the reviewer was favorably impressed in going over this long and careful discussion of the external evidence of Shakespeare's relation to Catholicism by the wide and intimate familiarity with the scholarship on this subject which the authors demonstrate, he was very unfavorably impressed by their failure to avail themselves of the traditional paraphernalia for the documentation of a scientific paper. Except on very rare occasions, as on page 94, where some elaboration of a point in the text itself is vouchsafed, there are no notes. Of course, one might simply read through the entire rather lengthy bibliography (pp. 409-416) in order to find out exactly what the authors contribute and what they have learned from the writings of others, but this is not very inviting.

Perhaps to many, the most interesting or valuable portion of the book will be the long section (pp. 206-368) adducing Shakespeare's text itself as evidence, and that, in their view, the most convincing evidence of all (cf. pp. 379 and 384) that Shakespeare was himself a Catholic, was born and brought up a Catholic, and, before he died, received the last sacraments (p. 385). They are at great pains, therefore, to show that this internal evidence does have true evidential value (pp. 209-212). However, very few literary critics will incline to accept their views, but will rather maintain the position that it is very dangerous to raise any sort of biographical structure on a literary text. Furthermore, it should be said, concerning the validity of their examination of the text in order to determine Shakespeare's religious beliefs, that the reader of this book frequently has the impression that the authors are either pressing their evidence too far, or, in a manner somewhat less than scholarly, are accepting and holding to be definitive proof that which is at best only tenuous and inconclusive, or are even maintaining an indefensible position. The following instance seems to illustrate all of these shortcomings and to exemplify the basic faults of the book. They write:

A passage in *As You Like It* contains what would seem to be a fairly obvious

reference to transubstantiation, a Catholic doctrine which is expressly condemned in the Articles of the Church of England as "repugnant to the plain words of Scripture," and as the source of "many superstitions" (Art. XXVIII):

> And his kissing is as full of sanctity as the touch of holy bread (iii.4.13). The Anglican Church teaches that there is no transformation of the bread, and the Body of Christ is therefore present, received and eaten "only after an heavenly and spiritual manner" by "Faith." In this connection, Raich comments as follows: "According to this doctrine, the 'holy bread' is and remains ordinary bread; its touch cannot, therefore, be described as 'full of sanctity.' On the other hand, according to Catholic dogma, the visible species of bread is the symbol of sanctity, the very essence of sanctity, so that its touch is 'full of sanctity.'" The comparison which Shakespeare draws certainly is daring, but it becomes comprehensible only if we assume an allusion to transubstantiation. Another aspect of the simile which also emphasizes "the Catholic quality of the line" is the fact that "in the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, the administering priest carefully places the sacred Species on the tongue of the communicant, whereas in the Protestant Sacrament of Communion, the communicant takes the bread in his hand" (De Groot). Shakespeare must, therefore, have had the Catholic sacrament in his mind, because the comparison of *kissing* with *the touch of holy bread* would otherwise be pointless (p. 217).

In the first place we cite the *Oxford English Dictionary* under "Holy Bread" which reads: "The (ordinary leavened) bread which was blessed after the Eucharist and distributed to those who had not communicated; corresponding to the eulogia of the Greek Church and the French *pain bénit*. b. In post-Reformation times. The bread provided for the Eucharist." The *OED* cites as a case in point the use of the phrase in the line given above. A fuller discussion of this sacramental is given in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* under "Bread, Liturgical Use of," (II, 750). It is, therefore, clear that our authors have neglected or minimized a primary lexicographical source in maintaining that this line involves or alludes to the doctrine of transubstantiation. A second point concerning the line in question is that they discuss its meaning without once adverting to its context. From the preceding lines of this scene, however, it is clear that Rosalind and Celia are discussing whether Orlando is a dissembler or a cheat in love. His hair is of the same color as Judas' and even redder, and Celia tells us that "his kisses are Judas's own children" (line 10). Hence, when Rosalind says that his kissing is full of sanctity, there is an opposition between the deceptive, traitorous kiss of Judas Iscariot and the religiously devout kiss of the courtly lover, and this opposition undoubtedly colors the meaning of the word sanctity. It is also true that the use of holy bread as a sacramental could lead to sanctity, provided that the individual made use of it with the proper disposition. Finally, even if the words "holy bread" and "sanctity" in this line actually meant what the authors have taken them to mean, there would still be reason to ques-

tion whether Shakespeare's allusion to the doctrine of transubstantiation revealed anything at all regarding his own personal belief in that doctrine.

In all fairness it must be said that in entering upon the discussion of such a subject as the authors have chosen to discuss they have elected a subject for which the evidence is extremely tenuous and subjective; but they should have been on that very account more restrained and circumspect in reaching final conclusions. As it is, the book is an interesting and valuable treatment of this question from one point of view.

H. Edward Cain

The Catholic University of America

The Development of Economic Thought: Great Economists in Perspective. Edited by Henry William Spiegel. Foreword by Kenneth Boulding. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.; London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd. 1952. Pp. xii, 811. $6.50.)

Professor Spiegel has fashioned a significant book with appeal not only to those interested primarily in economic theory and the history of ideas, but also to readers appreciative of great minds at work on other great minds. He has done this by having some forty eminent economists of the past and present analyze and appraise the work of outstanding predecessors in the field of economic theory. Many of the essays have appeared before in English; several, however, he has translated for their first presentation in this language and others were written especially for this work. One must feel particularly grateful for the inclusion of these last two groups.

It is a fascinating experience to read, e.g., Adam Smith on the physiocrats, and then Douglas on Smith; or Marx on the physiocrats, and then Veblen on Marx, Mitchell on Veblen, Burns on Mitchell. But one is equally happy to have accessible Einaudi on Galiani, Schumpeter on Böhm-Bawerk, to mention two of the translations; and Frisch on Wicksell, J. M. Clark on his father, J. B. Clark, and Colin Clark on Pigou. Economists apparently write better about other economists than they do about economics. There is nothing dismal about these essays. In explaining the personalities, the contemporary stimuli, the significance of the ideas of their precursors these essays are always interesting, sometimes scintillating.

To be sure, the sub-title may be a bit misleading. The great economists are not truly presented in perspective in the sense that one looking back from now clearly sees each in his proper relation along the long road from Aristotle. Rather one stops at stages along the road. But that is a minor consideration, for this is not a book for one untrained in economics.

The essays presume a familiarity with the ideas, principles, and terminology discussed. One would not turn to this book for an explanation of such terms as marginal utility or index numbers or many others, but one will find an explanation and an analysis of how these ideas originated and were developed. While the reader, untrained in economics, may at times be quite unsatisfied because there is no exposition of, e.g., Keynes' general theory, yet he will find Samuelson's appraisal of the influence, the method, and of the man, Keynes, absorbing. Many of the essays do present, in language the layman can understand, the ideas and principles of earlier writers, but the essays reveal best the thought processes of the appraiser and of the appraised, and the progress in the development of economic theory. They show the persistent influence of germinal ideas, developed and matured and modified by newer students testing theories against new facts and different conditions. Equally significant are the revelations of the differences in the formulation of theory that result when the purpose is purely scientific and when economic principles are expounded to a philosophical or ethical system, or a particular policy. Also impressive is the evidence of the utilization of the skills and methods of other disciplines, such as mathematics, for the clarification of thinking and exactness of expression they demand.

Obviously of significant value to the student of economic theory, this book will be stimulating also to any mature reader who has, or wishes to get, a knowledge of the development of economic thought. In this connection it might be said that Professor Spiegel's obvious facility with classical and modern languages should not make him forget that such facility is not the equipment of many readers. The longer quotations should be translated.

P. Raymond Nielson

Creighton University

One Sky to Share: The French and American Journals of Raymond Leopold Bruckberger, O.P. Translated by Dorothy Carr Howell. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1952. Pp. 248. $3.00.)

When France, on the brink of disaster in 1940, placed her manpower under conscription, the Holy Father, realizing "the cruel necessity" of the act, lifted the ecclesiastical ban that would have prevented French priests from bearing arms. At once Father Raymond Leopold Bruckberger, Dominion contemplative of the monastery of St-Maximin, exchanged his white habit for the soldier's uniform and asked to be assigned to the commandos on the grounds that a priest "must be at the front as far forward as he can get." From then on almost incredible things began to

happen. *One Sky to Share* is Father Bruckberger's account of his observations and experiences as he recorded them in his French journal during the ensuing decade and in his American journal following his coming to the States in 1950. Expert translation by Dorothy Carr Howell creates the illusion of a manuscript originally written in English, in diction beautiful, clear, and vivid.

Space limitations permit mention of only a few of Father Bruckberger's spectacular experiences in the service of his country. His escape in a borrowed cassock from a German field hospital when only partially recovered from a bullet that passed through his lung was shortly followed by his joining the newly-formed resistance as his "angry" answer to the "shame" of Pétain's capitulation. A year later, he was imprisoned for five months by the Gestapo who, however, released him without having discovered his resistance connections. In Paris as chaplain-general of the resistance he helped to produce a film that won the (French) "Oscar" for 1943, and the following year he arranged the reception for General DeGaulle in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, an event notable for the degree of decorum preserved in spite of the panic caused by the crossfire between local police and German snipers concealed in choir loft and stalls. Following the liberation of Paris, Father Bruckberger twice went to the defense of collaborationists in whose integrity he had maintained complete confidence. The second such effort produced unfavorable public reaction, whereupon he withdrew, in obedience to a directive from his superiors, from publication of *Le cheval de Troie*, a periodical to which Maritain, Bernanos, Gertrude von Le Fort, and others of like stature were contributors. A sojourn in Africa brought him into contact with two widely contrasting groups when he spent some time with the Little Brothers, an order founded by the late Père de Foucauld, his friend, and with the soldiers of the French Foreign Legion whom he served as chaplain.

Returning to St-Maximin in 1949, Father Bruckberger obtained permission to come to the United States the following spring to do some writing. He is currently stationed at the Dominican Priory of St. Peter Martyr, Winona, Minnesota. The American journal recounts his impressions of us during his first year in the States. It is good to be loved so spontaneously, so generously, so sincerely, and with such kindly interpretations of our shortcomings. He discusses our political institutions with keen discernment and with admirable objectivity and he loves our land. Like a contemporary St. Francis, he sings his praise of the beauty of hill and plain, of sky and sea.

Father Bruckberger's insight is deep and revealing, his perceptions shrewd. His French journal is a valuable contribution to our understanding of that drama of conflicting loyalties that made the tragedy of Vichy possible and the liberation almost inevitable. In his American journal he

seems to have come closer to understanding our ways than almost any other recent observer from across the Atlantic. His somewhat subjective opinions regarding the distaff side of the American pattern are open to challenge, but *One Sky to Share* is, nevertheless, a book to be read with profit not only for the social and cultural values it offers but particularly for the privilege of meeting a writer of great personal charm and deep spiritual insight.

MILDRED M. CONNELY

Wayne University

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

A History of the Crusades. By Steven Runciman. Volumes I-II. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951, 1952. Pp. xiv, 377; xii, 523. $5.00; $7.50.)

The crusade is a hardy perennial in the field of historical literature. From the Middle Ages to the present has come a stream of chronicles, essays, monographs, even poems. Strangely enough, in view of this vast quantity of material, there has until recently been lacking, especially in English, an adequate synthesis. The works most nearly resembling that under review are L. Brehier, *L'église et l'orient au moyen âge: les croisades,* and the three-volume *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem* by R. Grousset. The former, though in many ways an excellent book, is somewhat dated. Grousset, an orientalist, gave us, perhaps, the first broad synthesis of the crusades which adequately presented the Asiatic background, Christian as well as Moslem. But there were limitations to Grousset's work. There is, therefore, a real need for precisely the kind of treatment which Mr. Runciman is attempting; and these, the first two of three projected volumes, fully vindicate his right to make the attempt. He has written with a sure touch and in a graceful style. Volume I carries the story through the First Crusade to the founding of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; Volume II closes with Saladin's reconquest of the Holy Land in 1187.

Like Grousset, Mr. Runciman understands the Asiatic background. He is familiar with Moslem historiography and with the Moslem political developments which affected the crusades. But there is also an extended treatment of pertinent European developments in the age preceding the First Crusade, including, e.g., such matters as pilgrimage and the growth of the holy war idea. He has also been able to weave into his narrative the story of oriental Christianity, its significance to the history of the Near East, and the relations between oriental Christians and crusaders.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of Runciman's work, at least

on the interpretive side, is his understanding of Byzantine policies. He is, of course, a distinguished Byzantist; and the Byzantine "problem," that is the relations between eastern and western Christianity and the diplomatic-military situation created by the crusades, is accordingly given a prominent place. And although some readers may feel that Mr. Runciman is a bit partial to the Byzantine point of view, it remains true that most western histories of the crusades have done this viewpoint scant justice.

This particular aspect of the narrative commences in Volume I with a consideration of the schism of 1054 which owed much, in the author's opinion, to the tactlessness of western negotiators. On the other hand, Urban II's role in Byzantine relations before and during the First Crusade is commended and is contrasted with his predecessors' failures and his successor, Pascal II's ineptitude. Pascal, he feels, by associating the Papacy with the Norman Bohemond's attack on Byzantium in 1107, badly damaged any lingering hopes of reconciliation. "It was the turning-point in the history of the Crusades. The Norman policy, which aimed to break the power of the eastern Empire, became the official crusading policy" (II, 48). Although a question might be raised whether there really was "an official crusading policy" after Urban II, there is no doubt about the unfortunate consequences of the Norman assault. Mr. Runciman is even more emphatic about the Second Crusade, that spectacular failure from which so much was expected.

> Was it to the better interest of Christendom that there should be occasional gallant expeditions to the East, led by a mixture of unwise idealists and crude adventurers, to succour an intrusive state there whose existence depended on Moslem disunity? Or that Byzantium, who had been for so long the guardian of the eastern frontier, should continue to play her part unembarrassed from the West? The story of the Second Crusade showed even more clearly than that of the First that the two policies were incompatible. When Constantinople itself had fallen and the Turks were thundering at the gates of Vienna, it would be possible to see which policy was right (II, 277).

It should not be assumed from these few comments that the Byzantine sympathies of the author have led him to depreciate the crusaders' achievements. Although he is critical of their mistakes, he is fully aware of their accomplishments and of the significance of the crusades in human affairs. They are, he says, "a central fact in medieval history. Before their inception the centre of our civilization was placed in Byzantium and in the lands of the Arab caliphate. Before they faded out the hegemony in civilization had passed to western Europe" (I, xi). Except for the sections in the first volume on the European and Asiatic background and a chapter entitled "Life in Outremer" in Volume II, Runciman's story is largely an account of military engagements and the diplomacy which went with them.

As he notes himself, he has thus "followed the example of the old chroniclers, who knew their business; for war was the background to life in Outremer, and the hazards of the battlefield often decided its destiny." He has, however, promised more of the cultural achievements of the crusaders in Volume III.

In his introduction the author has acknowledged his debt to other historians. And it is evident that he has read and absorbed the material listed in his comprehensive bibliography. But in the main he has worked directly from the original sources. Indeed, with the exception of the non-military chapters just mentioned, footnotes rarely cite secondary authorities. One or two omissions should be mentioned. A. C. Krey's work on William of Tyre (*Speculum,* 1941) should have been cited, as also the Krey-Babcock edition of William of Tyre's history, the Virginia Berry edition of Odo of Deuil, and the C. W. David edition of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi,* all in the Columbia Records of Civilization series. And if a general work like C. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes,* is cited, why not P. K. Hitti?

In the introduction to Volume I, Mr. Runciman has graciously referred to a company of American and foreign scholars engaged in producing a co-operative work now known as the Pennsylvania History of the Crusades. May one of those associated with this project echo the author's disclaimer of any "competition" and welcome him into that company which he has recently agreed to join? What he is accomplishing in the two volumes already published and in the third in preparation entitles him to a prominent place in the long line of historians of the crusades.

Each volume is handsomely printed and includes several full page illustrations as well as appendices, and a number of tables and maps.

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

New York University

The World of Humanism, 1453-1517. By Myron P. Gilmore. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1952. Pp. xv, 326. $5.00.)

Although Professor Gilmore shuns any attempt to supply another formula for "the problem of the Renaissance," he does state that the most distinctive characteristic of the period of his volume was the effort to assimilate a wider knowledge of classical antiquity and fit it into the categories of Christian dogma (p. 264). He believes that the humanists of the period, when the mediaeval world order was disappearing, were seeking a new kind of order, based upon the reconciliation of opposites, on the creative energy of conflict accepted and harmonized (p. 266). Some of them, at times, were quite optimistic, as evidenced by the letter of

February, 1517, in which Erasmus announces that Europe has reached the golden age: peace, renewed morality and Christian piety, purer literature (pp. 260-261). Beside this optimistic attitude, however, there was a pessimistic realization of the dangers, well illustrated in Dürer's 1514 engraving of *Melancholia*, a realization, says Professor Gilmore, of how "precarious" were the conditions upon which the optimistic possibilities rested (pp. 268-270). But, as he also tells us, the interest of the humanists was shifting from man's relation to God and eternity to his control of social environment here and now on this earth (p. 268); their emphasis was shifting from grace to nature, from theology to ethics, from contemplation to action (pp. 204-205). The trend toward such a man-centered view could, indeed, make the maintenance of world harmony more than precarious.

According to the author, the significance of the rise of the Ottoman Turks in Europe, and of the movement of overseas expansion, was that they created problems which the sense of community, as expressed in papal responsibilities, was not strong enough to survive (p. 39). One must certainly admit that these developments brought problems, but it would seem that there were other developments of the period which were much more injurious to the papal position and the unity of Christendom. In discussing the economic and social changes of the period, the author states that it can hardly be maintained that Europe was undergoing a great economic revolution on the eve of the Protestant Revolt (pp. 50-56), and he gives as supporting evidence the statistical information that only two or three millions out of some seventy millions were occupied in industrial labor for a larger market. It would seem, however, that the important development was the increasingly important part played by the middle class during this period, as a result of the acceleration of the economic changes which had begun earlier. The author sees the popes of the period as being aggressively ambitious, thinking only of territorial expansion and of their families (pp. 142, 162, 163). Although the personal shortcomings of some of these popes seem inexcusable, it should be remembered that they were not conquering new territories, but were trying to bring under their effective control territories which rightfully belonged to the Papal States. And, in view of the situation, it is understandable that they considered that political strength and independence were necessary for the maintenance of their spiritual independence. Furthermore, how can Professor Gilmore be sure that Alexander VI "centered his hopes on the position of his family rather than the institution which he presumably served"? It may be granted that the advancement of his family was one of the factors in the motivation of his policies, but how can one know that it was the central factor? The author sees as the chief tendency in the philosophy and scholarship of the period the conviction of men

like Ficino and Reuchlin that there is a single truth behind the apparent diversities of philosophies and religions (pp. 193, 199). In art, he admits the influence of the classic, but sees also the fusion with the Christian (p. 241).

In general, the book is an able, cautious presentation. Although carefully written, a few mistakes have escaped notice. Charles VIII rather than Charles VII seems to be meant (p. 105), and Sixtus IV rather than Sixtus V (p. 232). It is stated that Ferdinand of Aragon was the grandfather of Isabella, the wife of Gian Galeazzo Sforza (p. 152) and that Bruges is situated on the river Scheldt (p. 120). It is difficult to see how one can refer to "imperial possession" of Milan at the beginning of 1513 (p. 159), since the Swiss, the Pope, and the Venetians insisted upon the installation of Massimiliano Sforza there, and would not allow the Emperor Maximilian to secure it for his grandson, Charles.

WALTER W. J. WILKINSON

Georgetown University

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620. By Boise Penrose. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. xvi, 369. $5.00.)

The exploration and exploitation of non-European areas by Europeans during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, roughly speaking from the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 to the death of Elizabeth in 1603, Mr. Penrose tells us in his preface, has not been treated adequately since 1881, when Sophus Ruge published his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen.* There have, of course, been numerous studies in various languages on aspects of the age of discovery, but nothing has been done to present the picture as a whole. Mr. Penrose's task was clearly cut out for him, and his purpose was to fill this gap in the history of geography (not so much in detail, because the facts of the story are well known, as in broad perspective, by juxtaposing the exploits of the participating nations to form a picture that would show us, at a glance, the elements that went into its making). Mr. Penrose had to begin with the classical and mediaeval background, proceed to the early Renaissance, discuss Henry the Navigator, follow the Portuguese all over the globe, and bring in the Spanish, English, Dutch, and French. He had to speak not only of the great voyages but also of the grand peregrinations, of such outstanding mariners as Columbus and Magellan as well as such famous landlubbers as Pero da Covilhã and Fernão Mendes Pinto. So vast a record of activity inevitably suffers in compression, but even if the covers of a single volume set limits

that must be respected, the possibilities for spirited scholarship, because of the very nature of the subject, remain infinite.

Mr. Penrose's book was clearly written to meet the needs of the larger public. It is not, to be sure, a "popular" work in the sense that some works are, a facile account of an involved subject, ordinarily by a layman with a facile pen, for laymen with minds that are not very demanding. Mr. Penrose wrote his book for the intelligent lay reader, for the average man of cultivation who wants a reliable introduction to the age of exploration. Such a man will find here enough of the splendor and also the shadows of the period to fascinate and illuminate him. He will have a straightforward narrative singularly free from bias, a complex story told simply but without distortion. He may, on the other hand, regret, with the professional historian, that Mr. Penrose did not make more of the challenge of his subject. There is an abundance of facts, personal names, place names, and dates in the text, but the significance of the expansion of Europe is not always made clear. Generally speaking, there is analysis instead of synthesis. The excitement natural to the adventurers Mr. Penrose describes is not always reflected. His account of European colonization, particularly in the Americas, is plain. The text, to quote from the dust jacket, is "unencumbered by footnotes." The bibliographies leave something to be desired. Some of these observations will obviously not disturb the general reader, but the more sophisticated critic will probably feel (as I feel) that Mr. Penrose could have taken fuller advantage of his opportunities.

MANOEL CARDOZO

The Catholic University of America

A History of Portugal. By Charles E. Nowell. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1952. Pp. xii, 259. $4.50.)

The history of Portugal has been neglected in this country. More startling than the scarcity of monographs has been the lack of adequate histories. Two books, published within the past six years, have remedied this, viz., H. V. Livermore's, which appeared in 1947, and the volume under consideration. At first reading the latter could be compared unfavorably with Mr. Livermore's work, but closer scrutiny reveals different purposes and the fulfillment of different needs. Livermore's volume is a heavily detailed, prosaic chronicle, Mr. Nowell's a selective, eminently readable synthesis. Chiefly concerned with Portugal as a world power, the author has clearly and succinctly outlined the sweep of the nation's history. Admirable balance between Portugal in Europe and overseas is attained, and, quite rightly, adequate treatment is given to cultural matters. The

limitations of the work are those imposed by its scope. In a rapid survey such as this, there had to be a high degree of selectivity. Thus while the politics of the nineteenth century is skillfully reduced from chaos to order, a more complete treatment would have further clarified this dark period of Portuguese history. Yet the overall picture has been presented well and mainly without prejudice. This is especially true of the section on the present regime.

Further limitations spring from Mr. Nowell's facility in characterization, a tendency often open to question in a work of this type. Unfortunately, there are also some errors of fact. The assertion that the University of Coimbra was "in the safe hands of the Jesuit Order" (p. 104) after the Buchanan case is not correct. The treatment of Dom Sebastião is cavalier, and one wonders why his tutor was unsuitable (p. 105). Philip's claim to the throne was not better than Catherine's (p. 108). The analysis of the Cortes Gerais and Brazilian independence shows too much reliance on Brazilian sources. The unnamed Manuel Fernandes Tomas has been quoted unfairly (pp. 183-184). Dom Miguel is dealt with much too harshly. Finally the use of "anti-clerical" to describe republicanism is misleading; "irreligious" would have been better.

These are minor and debatable points. Mr. Nowell's work fills a vacuum. It can be consulted with pleasure and profit for a better understanding of the nation which had so prominent a role in creating the modern world.

GEORGE C. A. BOEHRER

Marquette University

The Gunpowder Plot. By Hugh Ross Williamson. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1952. Pp. 301. $4.50.)

At the close of the last century Father John Gerard, S.J., published *What Was the Gunpowder Plot?*—an attempt to disprove the traditional account of this historical enigma. This provoked the celebrated English historian, Samuel Rawson Gardiner, to reply with *What the Gunpowder Plot Was*—a defense of the accepted version. Although Father Gerard returned to the fray with two more books, both scholarly studies, Professor Gardiner's reputation was so solidly established that the debate was regarded as concluded.

Today we are more familiar with state trials at which tortured victims abjectly confess and witnesses suddenly disappear. We are, therefore, able better than our nineteenth-century confrères to assess the "climate" of the Gunpowder Plot. Moreover, in 1938 the Hatfield MSS. were calendared and they give us additional insight into this problem. On these

grounds Hugh Ross Williamson sees good reason for re-examining the plot objectively.

He begins with a brief description of Elizabeth's efforts to suppress Catholicism and the counter-attacks this persecution evoked, then proceeds to study both the motivation of the plots which were being continually uncovered and the religious repercussions of the international struggle between England and Spain. Having skillfully depicted the background, he examines the characters of the principal individuals involved—the government officials as well as the conspirators. These thumb-nail sketches, based on documentary evidence, are masterpieces of psychological interpretation and give the book both its peculiar value and its unusual interest. Once all the characters have been deftly delineated, suspense is maintained until the reader learns how these figures played their parts in the tragedy.

Part III narrates the birth of the plot, the efforts to plant the gunpowder mine under Parliament, the detailed plan for the Catholic insurrection, Monteagle's reception of the anonymous letter and its delivery to Cecil, the arrest of Guy Fawkes, and the flight of the other conspirators. The trial and execution occupy the last section. Fawkes was tortured until he confessed, but his confession was regarded as unsatisfactory because it did not implicate the Jesuits, the English exiles on the continent, or the Catholic population of England. To read about the trial at which Fawkes and six others were condemned is to recall the procedure of contemporary communist trials. It is this whole atmosphere of conspiracy, discovery, trial, and execution that makes this book so topical.

From the documentation in this work one can safely conclude that the traditional account of the Gunpowder Plot is false and that Cecil and his spies knew about the plot long before its "discovery." Certainly Cecil had strong motives for instigating it but whether through one of his agents he planted the seed which the conspirators cultivated is still a moot question. On this point the author has many penetrating observations to make but ultimately they remain pure speculations.

There are two valuable appendices on the authenticity of Winter's confession and the mystery of the gunpowder, a comprehensive bibliography, an adequate index, and appropriate illustrations.

HARRY C. KOENIG

St. Mary of the Lake Seminary
Mundelein

The Organized Social Apostolate of Albert de Mun. By Sister Miriam Lynch. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1952. Pp. x, 234. $2.50.)

Sister Miriam Lynch of the Ursuline Nuns of Cleveland, Ohio, has written an excellent description and analysis of the efforts of Count

Albert de Mun from 1871 through 1914 to improve the conditions of the French workers and to eliminate class conflict in France. This study, which was the author's thesis for the doctorate, concentrates upon the work done by de Mun through various organizations he founded and led, and it deliberately omits de Mun's role in other sectors of French life. It suffers somewhat from a narrowly-conceived bibliography, and the translations into English are often stilted. However, this is a clear, well-organized, and illuminating study. It is an important contribution to the history of French Catholic social history, and it throws considerable light upon the history of the Third Republic until the outbreak of World War I.

The concentration upon de Mun's organizational work serves to emphasize more sharply the fact that de Mun and his associates had no knowledge of the French workers and their problems. As the author indicates, Count de Mun was a man of wonderfully good will, great Christian virtue, and high intelligence. Yet the gap between the intentions of the French Catholic leaders and their capabilities grew as the years passed. Despite the count's Christian spirit, fervor, oratorical skill, and organizing ability, the French working class benefited little from his efforts and was probably further from the Church in 1914 than it had been in 1871. However, as the author demonstrates in the concluding section, de Mun sowed seeds which are only now beginning to ripen, and his impact on France cannot be measured alone by the successes and failures of the organizations he established.

ROBERT F. BYRNES

Rutgers University

German Nationalism. The Tragedy of a People. By Louis L. Snyder. (Harrisburg: Stackpole Co. 1952. Pp. xiv, 322. $3.75.)

The author of this book has very definite ideas on the controversial subject of German nationalism. They are presented here in a series of studies on prominent writers whose works and thought both reflected the extremism of German nationalism and supposedly contributed to its acceptance by most Germans. The stock figures in any conventional work on this question—Jahn, Treitschke, Wagner, Bernhardi, and Rosenburg—are accompanied by the Grimms, Ranke, List, Meinecke, Stöcker, and others.

Professor Snyder's basic viewpoint is that of the liberal who feels that extreme national egotism and distaste for popular government have been deep rooted in the character of the German people. Their western neighbors, more rational and liberal in outlook, preserved a love of individual freedom and an attachment to rational thought and universal values. The Germans, however, preferred an irrational belief in the supremacy of the

state and the superiority of German culture and customs. The author's survey of the German scene between 1945 and 1952 leads him to question the policy of relying upon the sincerity of Germany's conversion to democracy.

Whatever they may think of this thesis, readers will probably find most of these chapters to be good reading, reasonably impartial, and usually adequate in material content. The specialist will find little that is new, but even he may be struck by the persistence of a certain naïveté among many of these writers with respect to the supposed virtues of the Prussian-German state and the originality of German culture. Again he may find that anti-Semitism was more popular and intensive among nationalist writers and thinkers than he had realized.

Some of the portraits are lacking, however, in perspective. Jahn's extremism becomes understandable, if not acceptable, when Germany's weakness in his lifetime is recalled. Schnabel, to whose major work the author does not refer, regards Jahn, the Grimms, and List as being close enough to the eighteenth century to preserve some elements of its humanitarian outlook. And can we justly stamp List as an extremist because he wanted no part of universal free trade in an age of English industrial supremacy? A balanced critique of Meinecke should reveal the historian's opposition to the nationalists who wanted a victorious peace in 1917-1918.

This reviewer agrees with the author that the German people were not critical enough of established political authority, but he does not see that submission to an authoritative or dictatorial government implies sanction of national expansion, power politics, and disregard of human values. Even Bismarck, Treitschke, Ranke, and Meinecke, for all their high evaluation of power, would hardly have approved the irrational and destructive use made of it by Hitler. And finally should we believe that Germany's political salvation is *solely* a question of her acceptance of political and philosophical liberalism?

JOHN K. ZEENDER

University of Massachusetts

The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union. By Roman Smal-Stocki. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1952. Pp. xxv, 474. Paper, $5.00; cloth, $6.00.)

Among the numerous works on the Soviet Union appearing after the last war, few have offered a sound analysis of Russia's minority problem. Scholars, therefore, will welcome Professor Smal-Stocki's persuasive study of the nationality problem as it involves the various non-Russian peoples living within the sprawling confines of the Soviet Union. The book does

not touch upon the historical origins of Russia's contemporary problems, and adds little to the study made in this field by the brilliant Polish scholar, the late Jan Kucharzewski. But the work has the quality of historical continuity, for it shows that Russian communism and Tsarist imperialism share a common historic minority problem.

The disintegration of post-war relations between the U.S.S.R. and the West, the author observes, is not to be explained by the events of the last several years. The problem belongs to an historical cycle which began with the Russian Revolution, witnessed the West's betrayal of the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and Turkestan after World War I, and ended with the betrayal of the rest of eastern Europe after World War II. Thus, the spirit of nationalism among the non-Russian minorities, which survived its conflict with autocratic tsarism, rallied for a passing moment under the inspiration of Wilsonian self-determination, only to crumble before the onslaught of Russian communism. The process of Russification, while it swept aside those symbols of "nationalist counterrevolution," such as the Ukrainian peasant dress with its distinctive embroideries, the Cossack moustache, and the gray fur cap, worked its greatest damage in the field of Soviet linguistics, which received its real impetus after 1920 with Marr's japhetic theory. The Soviet academician, N. Ya. Marr, visualized language as the creation of class struggle and dialectical processes. The Soviet philologists who embraced Marr's ideas (and there were few who did not) freely inserted words into non-Russian languages. Thirty years later the situation changed. Soviet linguists, led by Stalin, mercilessly criticized Marr and his followers for having created hopeless confusion among the non-Russian languages. Russification was to be carried out more scientifically to prevent future orthographic and grammatical anarchy. The whole linguistic problem, from the early glorification of Marr, through the first battle against him by Chikobava, and ending with a whole series of patriarchal pronouncements by Stalin, manifests Russian casuistry, and recalls the great disillusionment of the Marquis de Custine, who, more than a century ago, thought all Russians conspired to make duplicity prevail in their country.

The author can see no effective settlement of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union—unless it be the division of Russia into its component ethnic parts. He expresses an understandable bitterness against Russia's perennial propaganda which proclaims the effective solution of the minority problem, and sanctifies the mythical unity of the Russian "state." He is appalled at the number of university people who have fallen under the spell of this false and baseless argument. However, he sees a greater danger among the Russian anti-communist emigrés in this country who seek "the preservation of the Russian Empire by upholding the slavery of the non-Russian nationalities," and who constitute "an active branch of Russian Communist Imperialism . . . directed against

the idea of the American Declaration of Independence and all human rights and liberties . . ." (p. 410).

There is much to be criticized in the book, especially since it seems to have been written largely to influence western historians. There is an almost endless litany of Slavic names, most of which are unknown to American and British scholars. The substance of the text, unmistakably motivated by humanitarian sentiments, is often obscured by a flood of bold and bitter facts; and the uninviting type in which the book is set discourages serious scholarship. Yet while a condensation, with conventional typesetting, is desirable, it would be an injustice to minimize the intrinsic worth of Professor Smal-Stocki's book. With all its limitations, it represents not only a unique study, but a serious challenge to some of our more liberal western views concerning the ethnic composition of that polyglot Eurasian land mass called Russia.

THADDEUS V. TULEJA

Saint Peter's College

AMERICAN HISTORY

Socialism and American Life. Edited by Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons. Two Volumes. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xiv, 776; xiv, 575. $17.50 per set; $10.00 per single volume.)

There is little doubt that American intellectuals, even those deriving their training or income from such a conservative institution as Princeton University, will always be intrigued by socialism. If not regretfully, at least with some wonderment, they regularly revert to the question: why has not America long since gone socialistic? And just as regularly these intellectuals, even the many essayists who contribute rather brilliantly to this 1,300-page analysis of American socialism, find that they do not have the answer.

Sidney Hook believes that the American dream and the Soviet police state killed whatever chance socialist ideas had to take root in American soil. Marxist Paul Sweezy reasserts the tiring Moscow line that only two world wars saved American capitalism. Daniel Bell, labor editor of *Fortune* and the author of the best chapter in either volume ("Marxian Socialism in the United States"), passes this judgment: "If socialism as an historically organized movement has not achieved a permanency in American life, it is largely due to the role of the American Federation of Labor" (I, 248).

The fourteen essays of the first volume touch socialism from all its aspects, terminology, European background, religious basis, personalities, American roots and influence. Both Marxian and non-Marxian socialism receive proportionate analysis. The second volume of more than 500 pages

is an extended bibliographical essay, a complete review of the literature essential for an understanding of socialism. Foreign and domestic books, pamphlets, and articles are generously listed and adequately evaluated.

While the editors and contributing scholars give the appearance of scrupulous detachment in their treatment of the religious aspects of socialism and, I am sure, intended to be eminently fair in discussing Catholic social thought in this connection, it is equally evident that the writers of the present articles have had little contact with Catholic scholarship in the field of social science. This failure is undoubtedly, in part, the fault of Catholic institutions and scholars whose public relations oftentimes leave something to be desired. However, Egbert and Persons need only have made a telephone call to any Catholic university to acquire a bibliography of Catholic literature dealing with socialism that would be far more satisfactory than the one presented in volume two of this work. Only John A. Ryan seems to deserve more than passing mention in this scholarly analysis. Goetz Briefs, Louis Budenz, Georgiana McEntee, Joseph Husslein, Leo XIII and Pius XI are mentioned briefly. On the other hand, there was no room apparently for the Cronins (Michael and John), Haas, Clune, Fanfani, von Bruening, Dempsey, Maritain, Messner, Belloc, Rommen, Chesterton, Penty, and many other Catholic writers who are far more deserving contributors to the socialist picture than Carey McWilliams, Louis Adamic, and Margaret Sanger. Furthermore, secondary sources are too frequently listed as the basis of information concerning the Catholic position on socialism. Though the bibliography on European Catholic social thought contains the names of popular works and authors, it is far from being a true reflection of Catholic scholarship in those countries. Finally, in the preface to Volume II among the almost one hundred names of persons and institutions consulted by the editors in preparing this manuscript I could not find one professedly Catholic name known to me.

Whatever criticism can legitimately be made of the editors for the shortcomings (in a Catholic sense) of an otherwise first rate and, indeed, overwhelming bibliography, a Catholic reviewer would be more satisfied by Volume I (the essays) if those contributors were conversant at least with the Catholic books recommended by Egbert and Persons in Volume II. The first volume is almost a complete blackout as far as Catholicism is concerned, as if the Church, its bishops and its scholars, were not involved even negatively in socialist origins and development. There is not one reference in the index to the Church, nor to a Pope, not even to John A. Ryan. Albert Mollegen, who teaches ethics at a Protestant seminary, writes a whole chapter on the religious basis of western socialism, using as his authorities biblical writers and twentieth-century scholars such as May, Troeltsch, and Niebuhr, without any illusion to the 1,900

years of writing and religious controversy in between, all of which had some bearing on this very topic. Certainly, no one can draw up a scholarly picture of socialism, without some account of the religious reaction to socialism, particularly the Marxian brand, and more particularly the most vocal reaction of the Catholic Church.

All this is distressing in the light of the extreme importance of the subject matter being reviewed. "Socialism, whether one approves of it or not, is, after all, one of the most powerful influences in the world today; and no American can hope to consider himself educated who does not seek to understand the premises and history, the possible contribution and limitations, of the chief varieties of socialism, in comparison and contrast with the American democratic tradition" (I, viii). The only trouble is that the last chapter is left out, the chapter—possibly entitled "Socialism and the American Way"—which would make the comparison and contrast, and review in one place the limitations of the socialist gospel.

From a religious point of view such a statement as this does not seem to be in good taste: "The Churchmen who gathered at Nicea in a.d. 325 to formulate what later became the Nicene Creed had their textual differences regarding the road to salvation. Similarly, the weightiness of 'the word' had an equal relevance in revolutionary movements, and the texts of Lenin were scrutinized with all the hermeneutical care that the epigones gave the gospels in the first centuries after Christ" (I, 365). Nor is it accurate to say that Father Edward McGlynn "had been excommunicated from the Church for criticizing his archbishop" (I, 241).

Socialism, for all its present political ineffectiveness, was once a powerful minority influence and, as a philosophy, is not without its prominent patrons today. While the period 1902-1912 is called the golden age of American socialism because the party polled more votes in national elections in those years than ever before or since, many prominent Americans besides the socialist stalwarts (Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit, Daniel de Leon, Eugene Debs, William Haywood, Thomas Mooney, Norman Thomas) came into this left wing orbit, even Joseph Medill Patterson, later of the New York *Daily News*, hardly a socialist organ. Paul Blanshard, of course, the right hand man for Norman Thomas and Fiorello LaGuardia, was a socialist and was just as silly in the old days as he is now. For example, in 1933 just prior to Franklin Roosevelt's first inauguration, he sketched a picture of the new world to come in which he said: "In the U. S. state lines would vanish and the President and Congress would be replaced by a national Socialist planning board. . . . The State would enforce birth control. Working mothers would leave their young in a communal nursery in each apartment house" (I, 373). So spoke the great democrat of PAOU!

There seemed to be a great deal more hysteria in 1919 about socialism than there was in 1949 about communism, even though the latter-day

Reds were by far the more numerous, the more menacing, and the more influential. However, without the perspective of the past thirty years to help him, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer in 1919 was sufficiently aroused to cause him to alert the country against 60,000 subversive radicals on the loose and to obtain 6,000 warrants for dangerous aliens. Our unfriendly immigration policy (initiated in 1921) is traceable to this hysteria; the Sacco-Vanzetti case was one of its offshoots. Outrages against civil liberties seemingly mounted so high that Charles Evans Hughes issued a report on the illegal practices of the Department of Justice in which he stated: "We cannot afford to ignore the indications that, perhaps to an extent unparalleled in our history, the essentials of liberty are being disregarded. . . . (We know of) violations of personal rights which savor of the worst practices of tyranny" (I, 330).

In reading these volumes which might be sub-titled "the story of a failure," one is inclined to wonder at times whether or not socialism in America has really failed. There is little question that socialism as a political form of government or as an economic program has never taken root in the United States. (The welfare measures of the past twenty years, while claimed by Norman Thomas as his own, were dictated by economic necessity, made law by non-socialists, and drawn from Christian social thought, if from anywhere.) But if Sidney Hook is to be believed in his chapter on the "Basic Principles of Marxism" (I, 432 ff.), socialism as a philosophy has definitely succeeded. The main principles of Marxian socialism, according to Hook, are three (although he mentions three other less important ones): the naturalistic theory of man, the evolutionary and historical approach to life, and absolute determinism. In almost all walks of secular life today, public and private, there is no faith in supernatural man, in any heaven beyond the earth. Man is a biological entity, controlled by his environment, living a life in which there are no absolutes and no morals, save those which he is compelled to make and to change as he wills, the victim of inexorable choices and conflict. The socialism of yesterday has become the secularism of today. People like Hook, Will Herberg, and Reinhold Niebuhr are trying unsuccessfully to ground this secularism in theology and to reconcile its materialism with traditional concepts of democratic rights and freedom. They now call it "neo-liberal socialism," but like the Protestant ethic which squired it, it cannot be reconciled with the American Declaration of Independence. The Catholic Church, whose wise opposition to socialism was determined not so much by the latter's politics or economics as by its philosophy, now finds itself geared for battle against the Hooks and the Blanshards who, in spite of what they say, are offspring of their socialist roots.

GEORGE A. KELLY

St. Monica's Church
New York City

A Mirror for Americans: Life and Manners in the United States, 1790-1870, as Recorded by American Travelers. Volume I, *Life in the East;* Volume II, *The Cotton Kingdom;* Volume III, *The Frontier Moves West.* Compiled and Edited by Warren S. Tryon. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. xx, 230; viii, 231-466; viii, 467-793. $5.00 each, $14.50 set.)

There is something so ingratiating about books with tasteful formats that the reader is pre-disposed to like them from the moment of his first glance. *A Mirror for Americans* is one of these, or more properly, three of these. The handsome whole puts one immediately in mind of the elaborate "dividends" bestowed by book clubs in the halycon days when this reviewer still could afford to buy monthly volumes. And in a sense, the three volumes which Professor Tryon has compiled are a bonus for the historian who may have purchased his knowledge of the early nineteenth century more dearly at the cost of his own delving. (The title is slightly misleading in its dates in that only one section of one volume bears a commentary earlier than 1804, and only one very small item in Volume III carries the reader beyond the Civil War.) *Mirror for Americans* is not a new way of viewing our predecessors. As the author remarks in his preface, Allan Nevins has compiled some British travellers' views, and Oscar Handlin has reproduced the composite continental conclusions. Even the poet's invocation, "O, would some power the giftie gi'e us to see oursels as ithers see us!" had not gone unanswered by an earlier generation of Parkmans, Danas, or Fremonts. The truth is that we were a much travelled terrain, with no nationalities barred, either from looking or commenting.

Nor has the editor tried to blaze new trails by the division of his materials. The traditional "East, South, and West" treatment of pre-Civil War Americana is used, and with the exception of two selections which seem to repeat what is said about the French South and the Catholics there, the divisions are adhered to with care and with no little benefit to the reader. But if novelty was not the purpose of the arranger, certainly he has added something extra, a dividend, so to speak, to early nineteenth-century lore. His three volumes are not only a joy to behold but most profitable to peruse as well.

Almost any reviewer can, if he tries, cavil at a work of this kind where one man has arbitrarily selected his own preferences. This reviewer knows of much more dramatic first-hand accounts of riots in New York City than those included on pages 7, 173-175. The historian familiar with the archives for frontier areas in church history could suggest much more effective reports of hardships than those found in Volume III. But these are quibbling criticisms. *Mirror for Americans* makes no claim to furnishing the most literary, the most dramatic, or even the least-known

commentaries of Americans on their countrymen, any more than a glance into a mirror claims to give a picture of superb artistry, perfection of arrangement, or of balanced detail. In both cases, what is desired is a limited view of reality, the reflection of a scene as it actually existed. The title of the work is for that reason particularly apt.

And just as a reflection in a mirror may, by coincidence of shadows and light, give some hint of future appearances, *Mirror for Americans* is sometimes peculiarly prophetic of the America of today. Historically speaking, the boy was, indeed, the father of the man, and the America viewed by Tryon's travellers might very well be describing our national character as we conceive it to be today. Ingersoll commented in 1910, for example, "The people of this country are less homogeneous than many others . . . but the primary causes of their migration . . . liberality of their institutions, their intelligence and common interests together with external pressure have tended to approximate them." Again he commented, "The lien of this 'mighty continental nation' is commercial liberty: not mere political liberty, but positive freedom." Again, "By the facility of subsistence and high price of labour, by the universal education and universal suffrage, almost every man is a yeoman or citizen, sensible of his individual importance." The American concern with public welfare was noted by travellers like Mrs. Anne Royall who was impressed by Philadelphia's museum, prison, hospital, and institution for the deaf and dumb, New York's fire department, Boston's library, and the magnificence of Harvard University. Timothy Dwight, in his preoccupation with education in New England, found the people convinced that public schools were "indispensable appendages to society." Dwight also voiced a notion still very popular in twentieth-century America when he asserted, "We have superior means, facilities, and resources . . . to the nations of Europe in general, to effect any improvement we need; and it is only to believe it, and set ourselves in earnest about it, and the thing would be done." Samuel Bowles in 1865 found Californians all "united in pronouncing the climate simply perfect," while Mrs. Sara Clarke Lippincott noticed that the genuine Chicagoan had "well learned the prayer of the worthy Scotchman, 'Lord, gie us a guid conceit o' oursels!' and that the prayer has been abundantly answered."

Needless to say, many of the travellers commented on institutions which have since declined or vanished: Negro slavery, the buffalo, the hostile Indian, life in frontier mining towns, the circuit-riding preacher, polygamy among the Mormons, stage coach travel, and the importance of inland canals. But although the reader may exclaim briefly, as if looking at a book of old snapshots, "Were we *really* like that!" he will close the last volume with the conviction that he has truly seen a portent of the nation we have since become. And with this conviction there will be as

well a feeling of gratitude to the editor who has made available these particular reflections.

ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE

St. Joseph College
Emmitsburg

The United States as Seen by Spanish American Writers (1776-1890). By José de Onis. (New York: Hispanic Institute. 1952. Pp. viii, 226. $4.00.)

One question which perennially arises is that concerning the correctness of the thesis that there is a unifying factor, a common tradition or history, in the development of the Americas as a whole. Part of the answer to such a question must be found in the long-term attitudes taken by the people of one area toward those of another. Here Professor Onis, taking a segment of this problem, demonstrates the attitudes of numerous Spanish American authors toward the United States. The author in doing this is desirous of developing in this country a wider appreciation of how others have seen us, in the hope that this knowledge will widen and strengthen hemispheric solidarity.

In this volume the author restricts himself to the period prior to 1890, dividing his efforts into two major sections, one dealing with the period of independence, the second concerning the national period almost to the end of the nineteenth century. Additional shorter sections concern the highly important colonial period, as well as a special section on the work of Domingo Sarmiento.

Two general themes are demonstrated, one founded in fear of the United States, the other in admiration of its institutions. The former deals with the deep concern some Latin Americans had for their very national existence, as well as for the future of their institutions, secular as well as religious. The latter is concerned with the interest in the political, social, and economic institutions in the United States by some authors, primarily for the purpose of "exporting" them to their respective nations.

In an interesting and nicely critical manner, Professor Onis points out those areas in which a bond could be found and those in which differences are likely to loom. Throughout the book the material is well developed, well documented, and the bibliography indicates the extensiveness of the author's research. It is to be hoped that this volume will be followed by a subsequent one dealing with the opinion of Spanish American writers in the early years of the twentieth century.

MARTIN J. LOWERY

De Paul University

NOTES AND COMMENTS

As a result of the session on Catholic sites and monuments in the United States which was held at the annual meeting in Christmas week the following committee of the Association has been appointed to make a general survey of the field and to gather data from persons on this subject in various parts of the country: the Reverend Bartholomew F. Fair of St. Charles Seminary, Philadelphia 31, chairman, Mr. G. Alfred Peters, Jr., of the Order of the Alhambra in Baltimore, and Mr. H. L. McGill Wilson of Washington. The committee will appreciate receiving pertinent information concerning Catholic buildings of an historic character and any suggestions which interested parties may have to offer. Communications should be addressed to Father Fair as chairman of the committee.

On April 25 a Mass of thanksgiving was offered in St. Ignatius Church at St. Inigoes, Maryland, for the restoration of the historic building. The labor on the structure was performed by volunteer workers, both Catholic and non-Catholic, from the Patuxent Naval Air Station nearby, and the cost of the renovation was borne in part by an interested group of Catholic laity called the Restorers of St. Ignatius. The church is in the line of descent from the crude chapel erected in 1634 at St. Mary's City under the direction of Andrew White, S.J. When the British penal laws compelled the closing of the church at St. Mary's the Catholics later found a safe place of worship at St. Inigoes, about five miles south of St. Mary's, in a manor house, which was constructed in 1705. The recent work at St. Inigoes offers a good example of what can be done when there are persons who are interested and willing to assist in the repair of old Catholic buildings of an historic character. The present pastor of St. Mary's City, Richard T. McSorley, S.J., supervised the renovation of this old mission church which lies within his jurisdiction.

In that connection the *Catholic Standard*, the weekly newspaper of the Archdiocese of Washington, demonstrated during the past spring an excellent technique for arousing the interest of Catholics in the historic sites of the archdiocese by organizing a series of escorted tours on successive Sundays to places which have had an important bearing upon the American Catholic past. For example, the tour on April 26 included a visit to Sacred Heart Church at Whitemarsh near Bowie, Maryland, where in June, 1783, the American priests met to frame a plan of government for the Church in the new Republic. It was there, too, that the priests held several other important meetings in the infant days of both Church and State. On the tour of May 3 there was included a visit to

the site of the first cloistered Carmelite convent in this country at Port Tobacco, Maryland.

The National Geographic Society, Washington, D. C., issued in June a handsome new map over forty inches wide entitled, "Historical Map of the United States." The principal events of American history are located on it. There are two special inserts giving the older Atlantic coast areas in greater detail and another showing the territorial growth of the country. The principal explorations are indicated with special markings. Catholic aspects of the colonial period are found noted throughout the map. The borderlands to north and south are also marked with historical notes.

The University of Notre Dame acquired in the spring a large collection of the papers of Philip R. McDevitt, fourth Bishop of Harrisburg, who ruled over that see from 1916 to his death on November 11, 1935. Bishop McDevitt played a prominent role in the National Catholic Educational Association and in the activities of other educational groups. A preliminary examination of the collection indicates that all of the McDevitt Papers which did not relate directly to his episcopal administration of the Diocese of Harrisburg are included among the documents now at Notre Dame.

Lowrie J. Daly, S.J., of Saint Louis University returned to Rome at the end of the last semester to see the university's Vatican microfilm project to completion. Father Daly hopes to complete the undertaking in twelve to fifteen months.

The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives a collection of over 75,000 frames of microfilm of documents from the archives of the former German Foreign Ministry. This consists of material on the Peace Conference of 1919 as well as of documentation on World War I additional to that already sent to the National Archives in 1951. Furthermore, a collection of over 50,000 frames of microfilm of the papers of Gustav Stresemann, covering the period down to his death in 1929, has also been delivered to the National Archives.

J. Herman Schauinger, associate professor of history in the College of St. Thomas and author of *Cathedrals in the Wilderness* (Milwaukee, 1952), is gathering material for a biography of Stephen Theodore Badin, who was the first priest ordained in the United States (May 25, 1793). The centennial of Badin's death fell on last April 21. Mr. Schauinger would appreciate hearing from any readers of the REVIEW who may know of the location of Badin materials. His address is the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul 1, Minnesota.

The Most Reverend Joseph McShea, Auxiliary Bishop of Philadelphia, has been elected president of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.

Charles H. Metzger, S.J., of West Baden College, an advisory editor of the REVIEW, was elected to the executive committee of the teachers' section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at its annual meeting in Lexington, Kentucky, in May. Father Metzger is the first priest to be so recognized in the Association's nearly half century of life.

At the College of the Holy Cross, Father William L. Lucey, S.J., has relinquished his post as chairman of the Department of History and Political Science to become librarian of the college, and Father George A. Higgins, S.J., has been appointed to succeed him in the direction of the department.

Wilfred J. Steiner, associate professor of history in the University of Dayton, has been granted a Fulbright scholarship for study at the University of Rome during the coming academic year. Mr. Steiner, who is head of the Department of History at Dayton, will do research work in the Vatican Archives on the relations between Pope Clement VII and Francis I of France.

Professor Friedrich Engel-Janosi has received a grant from the American Philosophical Society for research in European archives during the summer.

Timothy F. O'Leary was appointed Superintendent of Schools of the Archdiocese of Boston on June 8. After taking his doctorate at the Catholic University of America he became for a time an instructor in its Department of Education. Father O'Leary has long been a member of the American Catholic Historical Association. He was the first priest to be chosen head of both the New England Association for Social Studies Teachers and the Greater Boston Film Council.

The December, 1952, issue of *St. Meinrad Essays* contains among other items a chronology compiled by Francis Buck on the issue of the state and parochial schools. A brief summary of each episode is given from the denial of transportation to parochial students in Fremont, Ohio, on January 17, 1949, to the statement of Bishop Thomas K. Gorman on December 3, 1950, regarding the need of support by private schools.

Volume III of *Thought Patterns* (St. John's University, Brooklyn, New York, 1952) contains several inspirational talks presented under the auspices of St. John's University.

The *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for March, 1953, is devoted to "Mental Health in the United States."

The American Academy of Political and Social Science held its fifty-seventh annual meeting at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia on April 10-11, 1953. The theme of the meeting was "NATO and World Peace." Six sessions occupied themselves with the background, the meaning, and the prospects of western Europe's new Atlantic and military commitments. Among the speakers were American political scientists and writers, Clarence K. Streit, Otto T. Mallery; Professors Herman Miles Somers, Emil Lengyel, Chancellor F. Cyril James; men of industry, James P. Warburg, Alfred J. Hotz; military speakers, Colonel C. H. Bonesteel, III, and Captain R. G. Mackay; Representative Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin; Justice Owen J. Roberts of Philadelphia. Foreign statesmen and speakers included M. Jean de Lagarde, French consul in New York, Professor Farid Hanania of the Lebanese Republic and Mr. Leo Mates of Yugoslavia. A dinner and a number of lively discussions, appraising the program and potentialities of the North Atlantic Alliance, were of additional interest. The American Catholic Historical Association had as its delegate Mr. John A. Lukacs of La Salle and Chestnut Hill Colleges.

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Corporation of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held at The Cloisters, Fort Tryon Park, New York, on April 18, 1953; the President of the Academy, William Edward Lunt of Haverford College, presided. The following officers were elected, each for a term of three years: first vice-president, Albert M. Friend, Jr., of Princeton University and the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library in Washington, D. C.; councilors, Manfred F. Bukofzer of the University of California, Ernst Kantorowicz of the Institute for Advanced Study, Floyd S. Lear of the Rice Institute, and Charles Edward Odegaard of the University of Michigan. The Haskins Medal was awarded to Professor Millard Meiss of Columbia University for his *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death.* The Corporation then heard an illustrated address, "Miniatures Illustrating the Mediaeval University Matricules" by Canon Astrik Gabriel, director of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame.

On Friday evening, April 17, 1953, at an open meeting of the Fellows at the Pierpont Morgan Library, Professor Sidney Painter of the Johns Hopkins University and Professor S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado were inducted as fellows of the Mediaeval Academy of America, and Professor Helen Maud Cam of Harvard University and Radcliffe College was inducted as a corresponding fellow. Charles T. Onions of Oxford, also elected a corresponding fellow, was unable to be present. There followed the presentation of three papers: "Pro Saeculo XIV," by Professor Thomson of the University of Colorado, "Turoldue, Author of Roland?" by Professor William Nitze of the University of California (Los Angeles), and "Norwich's Three Geoffreys," by Professor

Painter of the Johns Hopkins University. As Professor Nitze was unable to be present, his paper was read by Professor William J. Roach of the University of Pennsylvania. A subscription dinner for members and their guests held at the Vanderbilt Hotel on Friday evening was followed by an address by Professor Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University on "Mediaeval Science and Magic in the Seventeenth Century."

The annual symposium on Byzantine history was held at Dumbarton Oaks on April 30 - May 2. The highly interesting theme of the meeting was the cultural era of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Two papers each were read by Professors Romilly J. H. Jenkins, Alphonse Dain, and Kurt Weitzmann. Professor Albert M. Friend, Jr., director of Dumbarton Oaks, and Professors Francis Dvornik and Siraphie Der Nersessian, of the staff, each presented a paper.

Scrinium, a select bibliography published by Pax Romana, is now in its third year. It appears six times a year and the annual volume runs to 500 pages and contains 500 critical reviews and about 3,000 complete bibliographical entries of selected books. The purpose of *Scrinium* is to facilitate acquaintance with the most outstanding expressions of contemporary thought, Catholic or otherwise, in the fundamental branches of knowledge. The emphasis in the selection of books reviewed is upon works which involve some religious, moral, or philosophical viewpoint. All reviews are written by Catholic specialists in the particular field of the book in question. *Scrinium* is an international book review which should enlist the support of all Catholic scholars. More detailed information can be had at the general secretariat of Pax Romana, 14, rue de l'Université, Fribourg, Suisse.

Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu has published an index volume of its first twenty volumes (1931-1951). It presents a table of contents of each fascicule, an index of the articles and reviews, and finally a bibliographical index of Jesuit history. The volume is invaluable as an instrument of research in the history of the Society of Jesus. It is priced at 2,250 lire (Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Borgo S. Spirito 5, Roma).

Nigel James Abercrombie was appointed in April as the new editor of the *Dublin Review*. Mr. Abercrombie was trained at Oriel College, Oxford, and has taught French at various times at Magdalen College, Oxford, and University College, Exeter. He is the author of two studies published by the Oxford University Press, namely, *The Origins of Jansenism* (1936) and *St. Augustine and French Classical Thought* (1938). Mr. Abercrombie has been at work for some time on a biography of Edmund Bishop.

Newman House in Dublin held an exhibition of books, documents, and

manuscripts relating to Cardinal Newman from October 20-26, 1952. The exhibition was in commemoration of the centennial of the Catholic University of Ireland, of which Newman was the first rector. A fourteen-page catalog of the exhibition was printed by the authorities of University College, Dublin, in which details of the 186 items were given.

Students of the religious history of nineteenth-century Germany will find an able and well-documented study in the April issue of the *Review of Politics* by William O. Shanahan, associate professor of history in the University of Notre Dame. Mr. Shanahan calls his contribution "The Social Outlook of Prussian Conservatism." It is part of a forthcoming work which will deal with the social ethics of German Protestantism. However, the article referred to does not confine itself to the leaders of Prussian Protestant thought but treats as well Catholics like Joseph Maria von Radowitz, who was very close to Frederick William IV, Karl Ernst Jarcke, and others.

Early this spring a group of German Catholic and Protestant historians held a meeting in Bonn, the report of which was summarized from the *Echo der Zeit* in the London *Tablet* of May 9. The general theme of the conference was "Secularization in the Nineteenth Century," and the conference reached agreement on a number of basic propositions such as the following: 1) the Christian churches lost the masses of the people in the nineteenth century; 2) the secular spoliation of the Catholic Church by Napoleon was followed nearly a century later by the same kind of spoliation of the Protestant churches; 3) the historians themselves must share in the responsibility for the process of secularization insofar as they have separated ecclesiastical and profane history and thus deprived the historical consciousness of its ultimate basis; 4) it is not possible to produce an historical textbook, the selection, outline, and method of which can claim to be an author's unbiased view. On the contrary, it is necessary to make clear from the outset what the author's point of view is. The conference concluded that the Catholic and Protestant historians should discuss disputed questions as a team from their own particular viewpoints and then exchange these views in open meetings. It was hoped that this method might lead to the publication of source books which could thus be the medium through which this method could be introduced into the teaching of history in the secondary schools.

The National Committee for a Free Europe published in the late winter a seventy-five page brochure entitled *The Red and the Black. The Church in the Communist State.* It is an excellent factual summary of the fate suffered by the Catholics, Orthodox, and Protestants behind the Iron Curtain since the Soviet occupation of the Baltic Republics in June, 1940. The brochure sells for 50c and can be secured by writing to the Committee's headquarters at 110 W. 57th Street, New York City 19.

George P. Hammond has an obituary notice of Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton in the April number of *The Americas*, and Jerome V. Jacobsen, S.J., has one in the same number of *Mid-America*.

Louis J. A. Mercier, head of the graduate Department of Philosophy in Georgetown University, died on March 12 at the age of seventy-two. Professor Mercier was trained at Loyola University, Chicago, and at Columbia University and the University of Chicago. For thirty-five years he was a member of the faculty of Harvard University as a teacher of French and education until his retirement in 1946 when he joined the Georgetown faculty. His scholarly interests were very broad and his works, *The Challenge of Humanism* (New York, 1933), and *American Humanism and the New Age* (Milwaukee, 1948), revealed his rich philosophical and historical background. He was for many years a member of the American Catholic Historical Association and took an active part in several of its annual programs. Dr. Mercier was the recipient of six honorary degrees from various universities.

Charles C. Conroy, formerly head of the Department of History in Loyola University, Los Angeles, died on March 21 at the age of seventy-two. Professor Conroy had taught at various times in St. Vincent's College, Bishop Conaty High School, and Immaculate Heart College. In 1945 Dr. Conroy retired from his teaching duties at Loyola and was engaged during the last few years in gathering materials for a history of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. For thirteen years, 1913-1926, he had been editor of the *Tidings*, the weekly archdiocesan newspaper.

Algernon Cecil died at Bath, England, on April 13 at the age of seventy-four. He was a descendant of the Cecil family of the reign of Elizabeth, a fact which did not, however, prevent his conversion to Catholicism in 1915. Mr. Cecil was educated at Eton and took first class honors in history and a M.A. degree at Oxford. He was the author of many books among which the best known were *Six Oxford Thinkers* (London, 1909), *A Life of Robert Cecil* (London, 1915), *British Foreign Secretaries, 1807-1916* (London, 1927), *Metternich, 1773-1859* (London, 1933), and his latest work, *Queen Victoria and Her Prime Ministers* (London, 1953). He was made a knight of Malta in 1938.

The Most Reverend Patrick J. McCormick, Rector of the Catholic University of America, died on May 18 at the age of seventy-two. Bishop McCormick had been associated with the university since 1904 as a student, an instructor, and then professor of education, dean of the Sisters College, and vice-rector. In 1943 he was appointed to the rectorship. He was the author of a widely used volume entitled *History of Education*, which first appeared in 1915 and was revised by Francis P. Cassidy in 1946. He was

made a domestic prelate in 1929, held honorary degrees from a number of universities, and was consecrated titular Bishop of Atenia on September 21, 1950. At the time of his death Bishop McCormick had completed his second term of five years as rector of the university.

On July 26-27 there will be held at Trondheim in Norway the celebration of the eighth centennial of the establishment of the hierarchy in that country. It was in 1153 that Nicholas Cardinal Breakspear, the future Adrian IV, acting as the legate of Pope Eugenius III, erected the metropolitan See of Nidaros (Trondheim). Bernard Cardinal Griffin, Archbishop of Westminster, will be present for the occasion, as he was likewise present in the Netherlands when the centennial of the Dutch hierarchy was commemorated in mid-May.

Saint Louis University commemorated the sesquicentennial of the Louisiana Purchase by five lectures delivered between March 3-30 by five members of the Department of History. The lectures have since appeared in brochure form.

The centennial of the restoration of the hierarchy of the Netherlands was celebrated in mid-May. The Dutch Church has made splendid progress in the last century and at the present time the Catholics form 38.5 percent of the population and are the largest single religious group in the country. There were about 1,200,000 Catholics in the Netherlands in 1853, whereas today they number around 3,700,000. There are thirty-seven Catholic daily newspapers and two Catholic universities at Nijmegen and Tilburg. One of the most impressive of the achievements of Dutch Catholicism has been its contributions to the foreign mission field, where there are today over 7,000 Dutch missionaries, nearly half of them priests, with fifty Dutch bishops serving outside the Netherlands. The importance of the position of the Church in national life was recently highlighted when the government of Queen Juliana appointed Bernard J. Alfrink, Coadjutor Archbishop of Utrecht, to be a grand officer of the Order of Orange-Nassau.

St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, is this year celebrating its centennial. The institution was opened originally in July, 1853, at Arichat under the auspices of the Right Reverend Colin Francis MacKinnon. In 1855 it was transferred to Antigonish. Besides its famous Extension Department which was established in 1928 and has won international fame for the effective manner in which it has handled the cooperatives and other projects for the betterment of the local communities in Nova Scotia, the University has had affiliated with it since 1894 Mount Saint Bernard, a woman's college, and a nursing school at Saint Martha's

Hospital since 1926. In 1951 the Xavier Junior College was opened in Sydney as an integral part of the University.

The silver jubilee of the Antigonish Movement, the adult education program of the Extension Department, will be commemorated on July 7-8, and the formal academic ceremonies will take place on September 1-2 when the Most Reverend John J. Wright, Bishop of Worcester, will preach the sermon at the pontifical Mass.

The centennial of St. John's Abbey at Collegeville, Minnesota, will be celebrated in 1956. It was on May 2, 1856, that the five Benedictines from St. Vincent's Abbey at Latrobe arrived in Minnesota Territory. In anticipation of the approaching centennial Abbot Baldwin Dworschak and his council at St. John's have appointed Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., to write the history of the abbey's first hundred years. Father Barry, who is assistant professor of history at St. John's University, is well equipped for the task by reason of his previous research and publication. His volume, *The Catholic University of America: the Rectorship of Denis J. O'Connell, 1903-1909* (Washington, 1950), received many favorable notices and his most recent work, *The Catholic Church and German Americans* (Milwaukee, 1953), is a scholarly treatment of the thorny nationality questions which fretted leaders of the American Church in the late nineteenth century. The authorities of St. John's have reduced Father Barry's teaching schedule and have left him several days of each week free for research in the archives. Long range planning of this kind should insure to this largest Benedictine community in the world a first class history of their abbey. It is a procedure that might be imitated with profit by all dioceses, religious orders, and educational institutions of the Church in the United States which will be marking their centennials during the coming years.

On April 30-May 2 Belmont Abbey College, Belmont, North Carolina, celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding. Long a successful junior college serving the needs of the region, it began last year to offer four years of college. Belmont Abbey, under whose auspices the college is conducted, is the only *abbatia nullius* in the United States. Its abbot-ordinary, the Right Reverend Vincent George Taylor, enjoys ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Gaston County.

Documents: The Early Years of Gabriel Richard (1767-1790). Jules A. Baisnée (*Records* of the American Catholic Histor. Soc. of Phila., Dec.).—Further Considerations of the Apalachee Missions. Mark F. Boyd, (ed.) (*The Americas,* Apr.).—New York City in 1859: A Letter from Richard O'Gorman to William Smith O'Brien. Helen F. Mulvey (ed.) (*New York Hist.,* Jan.).

BRIEF NOTICES

ABBO, JOHN A. AND JEROME D. HANNAN. *The Sacred Canons.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1952. 2 Volumes. Pp. xxii, 871; 936. $19.00 per set.)

Textbooks of canon law of this kind are usually intended for use by seminarians in their studies, and by priests in their daily work, and these volumes should prove very helpful to the seminarians and priests who will use them. But the authors have in mind a larger group of readers. They have noted "the spontaneous demand for a better knowledge of ecclesiastical law that has arisen in English-speaking countries among the religious who are not clerics and among laymen," and they present their two-volume work as a handy means of acquiring that better knowledge. It is to be hoped that laymen in particular will make use of these volumes, for if they do they cannot help but be a laity better informed about current ecclesiastical discipline. It is especially valuable for the laity to be reminded, as they are very well reminded in these volumes, that the sacred canons have their history, and current legislation is the better understood and appreciated if something of that history is known.

These volumes can be recommended, then, especially to the English-speaking laity. This is said even though this reviewer is a little surprised that a greater use was not made of the more than 300 canon law studies which have issued from the Catholic University of America. (E. ROBERT ARTHUR)

BABIS, DANIEL G., AND ANTHONY J. MACELI. *A United States Ambassador to the Vatican.* (New York: Pageant Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 52. $2.50.)

The worthwhile portions of this slim volume contain reproductions of a few documents relative to the United States diplomatic mission to the Vatican in the 1860's, and selections from the correspondence between Pope Pius XII and Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman. The remainder hardly measures up to the challenge of the work's title. At most, the authors hint at the basic constitutional issues and the pressures, political and religious, involved in this delicate Church-State problem. And a considerable proportion of the volume is given to interesting, but peripheral, information.

An uncommon number of errors, for the brevity of the work, managed to slip by the editors. For instance, Rufus King is designated as ambassador to the Vatican. King was a minister resident. Indeed, the United States did not have diplomatic agents of ambassadorial rank until the 1890's, long after the closing of the Vatican post. The authors report King as leaving Rome on January 1, 1868, but a few pages later they cite documents of King himself indicating that he left Rome in August, 1867, and was in New York on January 1, 1868. Also the American diplomatic representative at Rome was not raised to the rank of minister resident in 1853, but in July, 1854. Myron C. Taylor is called President Roosevelt's "personal envoy with the standing, but not the title of Ambassador," when, in fact, he did not have diplomatic ambassadorial rank but certainly had the title of am-

bassador. On this latter point Mr. Taylor was most insistent. Incidentally, the name of Mr. Taylor's assistant, Harold H. Tittmann, is consistently misspelled. The appended chronology of American Catholic history also contains a number of misstatements, e.g., Father Padilla, America's protomartyr, was not slain "in the territory that is now Kansas City," and Brownson's first name was Orestes, not Chester. Such flaws in accuracy naturally detract from the usefulness of this jejune survey. (MARTIN F. HASTING)

BLOOMFIELD, MORTON W. *The Seven Deadly Sins*. (Michigan: State College Press, 1952. Pp. xiv, 482. $7.50.)

The intricate web of a Christian concept, interwoven with strands from Judaism and the earlier and pagan religions, embroidered with allegorical figures by mediaeval theologians, amplified by didacticians, is difficult for any layman to unravel. Mr. Bloomfield admits that the terminological confusion between the cardinal sins, often eight in number, and the seven deadly sins led him to use the more familiar designation as a title for his cultural-historical study. The author wisely offers no simple explanation of the origin of the concept of the seven cardinal sins but relates it to Hellenistic theology, specifically as a "by-product of an eschatological belief," the Gnostic Soul Journey, infused with the Semitic conception of seven evil demons, thereby becoming compared with planet, forces of nature, and animals. Evagrius, the first orthodox Christian writer to list the chief sins, established the octad in the East; the Cassianic list, *glaitavs*, with numerous progeny for each sin, and the Gregorian heptad, *siitagl* or *siiaagl*, representing *supervia, ira, invidia, avaritia, acedia, gula, luxuria*, influenced the Latin fathers and later vernacular writers and preachers of the West.

In Part II Mr. Bloomfield presents a comprehensive survey of the concept of the seven deadly sins in English literature from Aelfric's sermons to Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, with the continental background of Pennaforte's *Summa casuum poenitentiae*, Peraldus' *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis*, Friar Laurent's *Somme le roy*, Vincent of Beauvais' *Specula*, Dante's *Purgatorio*, and other religious and secular writings known in England before the sixteenth century. Four chapters summarize briefly the treatment of the theme, the order, allegorical aspects, characterizations in mediaeval English prose and verse, excluding the drama.

Appendices, an excellent bibliography, and explanatory notes, comprising half the book, add to its value for those interested in the development of a religious concept and its influence on Middle English literature. (MARY MCDONALD LONG)

BONNIWELL, WILLIAM R., O.P. *The Story of Margaret of Metola*. Drawings by Sister Mary of the Compassion, O.P. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1952. Pp. x, 177. $2.50.)

This life of an obscure Dominican tertiary has for its background Renaissance Italy of the period of the Guelph and Ghibelline struggles. Margaret of Metola was the daughter of aristocratic and wealthy parents whose pride dictated that a blind, hunch-backed, and deformed child should first be hidden, later imprisoned

in a vault, and finally abandoned without resources of any kind. At the age of seventeen, therefore, Margaret became the associate of the beggars of Città di Castello. Her holiness, resignation, and charity influenced the poor, who befriended her. After attempting in vain to join a cloistered community, Margaret found her vocation as a member of the Dominican *mantellate* or Third Order, and she spent her last years helping the poor, the sick, and those in prison. When she died in 1320 the people demanded that she be buried in the church as befitted a saint.

As the author himself states, Father Bonniwell is doing tardy justice to one whose life has been sadly misrepresented by her later biographers. He bases his narrative, therefore, on the first important biography of Margaret written about 1360 by an unknown contemporary of the blessed, a canon of the cathedral of Città di Castello. The facts presented by this Bologna manuscript make a good story, and Father Bonniwell has done a service in making Margaret better known and in publicizing the authentic source material. His avowed intention to reach the general public, however, has led to oversimplification and to a tendency toward extension rather than depth. The narrative moves rapidly enough, but the conversation often seems stilted and unreal while the use of the fictionalized form makes the story less convincing than it might otherwise be. (SISTER M. COLETTE STANDART)

BOWE, FORREST. *List of Additions and Corrections to Early Catholic Americana. Contribution of French Translations (1724-1820).* (New York: Franco-Americana. 1952. Pp. v, 101.)

An expansion of an earlier article in the *Catholic Historical Review* (July, 1942), this new list, supplementing Parsons' *Early Catholic Americana*, records 282 editions not previously mentioned in Parsons; of these twenty-five are new French Catholic authors of which sixty-six editions are recorded and there are 216 new editions of thirty earlier authors already carried in Parsons. The listing is limited to translations from French into English; it omits "French textbooks, works in French, and American readers and other compilations having only short translated extracts by French authors." Of particular significance is the evidence cited showing that LeSage is the real author of the *Adventures of Gil Blas*, not Padre José Isla (p. 71). All who have Parsons will want this brochure and, in addition, persons who are particularly interested in the French cultural contribution to American life will need it. (EUGENE P. WILLGING)

BOYD, GEORGE ADAMS. *Elias Boudinot, Patriot and Statesman, 1740-1821.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xiii, 321. $5.00.)

Elias Boudinot was an important figure in the infant years of our country. He was president of the Continental Congress; a representative of New Jersey to Congress under the Constitution; commissary general of prisoners during the Revolution; director of the United States mint; trustee of Princeton University, and a philanthropist of many enterprises. Mr. Boyd has faithfully exhausted all sources of information in writing this biography. Almost all of the 294 pages

have two or more annotations quoting original sources from personal papers of men like Washington, Madison, and John Jay. The bibliography lists 153 printed sources, including the works of Alexander Hamilton and Benjamin Franklin.

The style of writing is extremely didactic, making it very tedious reading. One often wishes that this biography of a prominent statesman were less detailed and more comprehensive. The author nonchalantly skips over several years of Boudinot's life when he was diligently striving to alleviate the critical conditions of the expanding Republic. It would be better if more space had been devoted to these problems and less to the quotation of uninteresting letters written to Boudinot's family admonishing his children to live righteously or to discussing his anguish at being separated from them. (LOUIS F. EGECK)

CALVET, JEAN. *Saint Vincent de Paul.* (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1952. Pp. 302. $5.00.)

This new biography of St. Vincent de Paul attains the same high standard of hagiography that others such as James Brodrick, S.J., have set up. Monsignor Calvet has brought from a background of obvious research and study the intimate and human picture of a man and a saint. As a man he once had set his eyes upon a satisfactory benefice that would provide him and his family for a lifetime. As a saint, at the gentle nudgings of God, he took the steps that led him to sanctity. Those who enjoyed Pierre Fresnay's characterization of Vincent in the moving picture *Monsieur Vincent* will find the same sparkling, fiery eyes looking out at them through the pages of this volume.

The temporal picture of Vincent de Paul as the confessor and director of a queen and her ladies of the court, or as the sometimes unwitting enemy of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, provides a rich historical background for the reader. Into this context are introduced a few problems as the result of the author's diligent study. The difficulty is that the problems remain unsolved for the reader, despite attempts to indicate the more likely solutions, viz., Vincent's disappearance and capture by the Corsairs. Vincent's zeal and energy as priest, confessor, spiritual director, reformer, and founder led him into so many enterprises that it is difficult to include an adequate appreciation of the saint in a brief popular biography. As a result, the reader sometimes finds himself confused in his attempts to follow the many avenues along which the talents of Vincent travelled. A glance at the table of contents reads more like the history of a religious order than the story of a single man.

But these are only a few points of carping criticism in an otherwise enjoyable book. An easy style, a happy selection of words, a sense of the interesting and important, all have produced a well-rounded and informative work. The translator is to be commended for capturing the spirit of the original narrative and reproducing it so faithfully. A three-page bibliography is presented, which is indicative of the scholarly manner in which Monsignor Calvet pursued his work. His own appreciation accompanies the titles listed, and one feels that further profitable study would be best along these lines.

This reviewer cannot help but feel that the few defects of the book would have been eliminated had it been of greater length. To give this saint his proper place in history and to present an adequate picture of his boundless zeal (such was the apparent purpose of the author) can scarcely be done in the confines of 296 pages. Yet, if the author had no other wish than to leave the reader with the desire of learning more and the regret that the hero's story was over, then he succeeded well in this presentation of St. Vincent de Paul. (DAVID J. MURPHY)

CAMERON, MERIBETH E., THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY, AND GEORGE E. MCREYNOLDS. *China, Japan, and the Powers*. Foreword by Kenneth Scott Latourette. (New York: Ronald Press. 1952. Pp. xiii, 682. $6.50.)

This book is an attempt to set forth a sufficient history of both China and Japan in modern times and to do justice to the place of each country in international relations. The resultant text is a creditable performance in style, comprehension, and accuracy of detail; and at least for the material down to very recent times it can be said that the interpretations are clear and objective. Religious and cultural history are subordinated but not ignored, the major purpose of providing an up-to-date survey of political and social developments having precluded a more extensive treatment of underlying factors. For the events of the very recent period, years of controversy since 1941, the authors incline to "on the one hand . . . and on the other" type of analysis; they fail to discriminate adequately with respect to background bibliography, and they could very well apply a more realistic treatment to government publications. Nevertheless, even the last chapters are rich enough in detail so as to provide a well-informed summary out of which more than one point of view can be developed. The very good index and well-constructed format enhance the book's usefulness as a work of reference. (JOHN T. FARRELL)

CASTAÑEDA, CARLOS EDUARDO, AND JACK AUTREY DABBS. *Calendar of the Manuel E. Gondra Manuscript Collection. The University of Texas Library*. (México: Editorial Jus. 1952. Pp. xxii, 467.)

This calendar of the 2,883 documents and maps collected by the late Paraguayan statesman, Manuel E. Gondra, is a model in this field. The succinct descriptions of each entry, the exhaustive indices, and the reference lists attest to the diligence of Jack Autrey Dabbs, the compiler, and of Professor Castañeda, the editor.

Some, who have had occasion to use the Gondra Papers, will doubt the wisdom of spending ten years' effort on a collection which is composed almost completely of modern copies, sometimes of questionable accuracy. However, none will question the competence of the editor or of the compiler. The Gondra Collection was formed primarily to throw light upon the development of the River Plate area; actually the collected materials cover a much wider area. Indeed, no scholar interested in the history of entire South America from the first decades of the sixteenth to the last years of the nineteenth century can afford to ignore this collection or this calendar. (ANTONINE S. TIBESAR)

CAWLEY, ELIZABETH HOON (Ed.). *The American Diaries of Richard Cobden.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 233. $4.00.)

Richard Cobden (1804-1865) was an Englishman who rose to prominence in the business world and whose career ended as one of Britain's foremost statesmen. This slight volume contains his comments and observations recorded in his diary during two trips to America. His first trip was made in 1835. From June 7 to July 16 he glimpsed New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Buffalo, Utica, Albany, Boston, Providence, and back to New York. The inconveniences of stage and boat travel failed to dim his enthusiasm for America as a land of promise and opportunity. He returned in 1859 as one of Britain's most distinguished statesmen. His comments reveal that his predictions were accurate and that his expectations had been fulfilled. This time he travelled mostly in comfort by rail, and his journey took him as far west as Dubuque and as far south as Memphis.

The journals have all the fascination that goes with reading personal diaries. Cobden met all the famous contemporary American figures from President Buchanan to the latest Irish immigrant. He commented, at least briefly and sometimes at length, on everything from public education, which he admired, to slavery, which he despised. He had words of criticism for American women, whom he considered too slim, and for the boasting nationalism of Americans, which he could appreciate. Prices of land, wages and hours, working conditions, the press —nothing escaped his pen. America's natural beauties—Niagara in particular—called forth his profound admiration.

If we would see ourselves as others saw us a century or more ago, this is the place to look. Cobden was well aware of the adverse criticism of America on the part of the British and Europeans, and thoroughly disagreed with it. His influence is credited by some with helping to keep England neutral during the Civil War.

The first third of the book serves to sketch the life of Cobden and to interpret the diaries in the light of his unpublished correspondence between 1835 and 1859. The volume concludes with a bibliography and an excellent index. (HAROLD E. HICKS)

CLARK, J. G. D., *Prehistoric Europe, The Economic Basis.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1952. Pp. xix, 349. $12.00.)

Dr. Clark, well known for his excellent works on European archaeology, has in this book produced a masterpiece on what he calls the economic prehistory of Europe. Beginning with the close of the Pleistocene Ice Age, the author traces the development of European man from the primitive cave dwellers of the upper paleolithic time, when human societies were just beginning to take form, to the peasant agriculturist at the dawn of historic time. Coverage, both as to area and time, is not uniform, due, as Dr. Clark points out, to the spotty distribution and incompleteness of the record. Nevertheless, one is impressed with the tremendous amount of evidence which he has marshalled to portray the hunting and fishing economy, the agricultural and grazing economy, the houses and settlements, the

handicraft, and the technology of prehistoric man in Europe. The care with which the evidence is sifted and the caution with which conclusions are drawn invites the confidence of the reader.

The author departs from the traditional dating and classification of artifacts which are for him but one kind of evidence from which to reconstruct the economy and environment of the men who made them. He shows how the latest techniques of physical science, the writings of the ancients, and modern studies of folk culture all contribute to the reconstruction of prehistoric life. By indicating the probable source of the raw material, petrographic analysis of clay and stone artifacts, and microscopic examination of metal objects reveal something of prehistoric trade. The work of the paleobotanist, through the examination of plant remains and analysis of buried pollen, supplies evidence of the natural environment of primitive man and even indicates apparent climatic changes. Remains of the hunter's victims are as useful as pieces of weapons or traps in revealing aspects of the life of early man. Descriptions of barbaric peoples by writers of antiquity when combined with studies of folk culture in remote areas of Europe in recent time reveal a surprising continuity and persistence of some aspects of material culture from prehistoric beginnings.

The book is magnificently illustrated with 182 line drawings and sixteen plates depicting tools, weapons, settlements, and dwellings of primitive man. Many of the illustrations show stages of development of these objects, and several maps are included. There is also an extensive bibliography. (KENNETH J. BERTRAND)

GRAGG, FLORENCE ALDEN (Translator). Historical notes by LEONA C. GABEL. *The Commentaries of Pius II, Books VI-IX*. [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XXXV] (Northhampton, Massachusetts: 1951. Smith College. Pp. 413-618.)

The scope and character of this important annotated translation of the *Commentaries* of Pope Pius II, so precious as a source for his life and times, was indicated in the notice of the first instalment [*Catholic Historical Review*, XXVI (October, 1940), 403]. The fourth instalment maintains the same high level of accuracy in the English version and in the notes. It is to be hoped that the translation of the remaining portion of the *Commentaries*, Books X-XIII, can be published soon, together with the promised historical introduction to the whole work. It is a pleasure to report that the editors plan also eventually to publish the Latin text of the original manuscript. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

HAAS, FRANCIS J., Bishop of Grand Rapids. *Man and Society*. 2nd ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1952. Pp. xxi, 554. $4.50.)

An introduction to a subject from a man whose life has been immersed in its practical study is uncommon good fortune for beginners in any field. Not only beginners but, in fact, all students of the social teachings of the Church must be grateful that Bishop Haas has taken the trouble to revise and to bring up to date his

exposition of basic principles. This textbook is unique in its scope and to a large extent in its declared purpose, "to examine the facts and trends of contemporary society in their moral setting" (p. vii). The presentation is substantial and, if in places somewhat incomplete, never superficial. There is an orderly progression in the consideration of the origins and the personal dignity of the human individual, the virtues of justice and charity in social life, the family society and its problems, economic life in all its major aspects, the papal norms for the organization of modern industrial society, and the role of political institutions on both national and international levels. An abundance of historical material is introduced in the treatment of these topics in such a way as to stimulate effort toward genuine historical understanding. Naturally, and happily, the strongest advantage of the book lies in the application to the problems of contemporary American society of modern papal teaching on the necessity and the direction of social reconstruction. (C. JOSEPH NUESSE)

HADAS, MOSES. *A History of Latin Literature.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. viii, 474. $5.00.)

This is a companion volume to the author's recently published *History of Greek Literature.* It is intended "for the curious literate, not professional students of antiquity." While giving sufficient attention to the great names in Latin literature, the author has taken pains to deal with some of the minor figures, and especially those who in later times had an influence out of all proportion to their real worth. Liberal selections in translation are presented throughout the book. Hadas' literary judgments are generally sound. The reviewer, however, cannot subscribe to the sweeping generalization on Ovid: "Nothing in him is immoral unless absence of moralizing is amoral" (p. 201). The attempt to cover late Latin literature, Christian as well as pagan, is very laudable, but the author, in spite of his effort to be sympathetic in his treatment, is not quite at home in the late Latin period. The statement e.g., "We have no such outspoken polemic on the pagan as on the Christian side" (p. 361), betrays a lack of knowledge of the bitter anti-Christian polemic in Greek and Latin writers of the second, third, and fourth centuries. In Chapter XXI, "Humanistic Survival in Poetry," one finds several names that surely belong in Chapter XXII, "Writers of Christianity," e.g., Sidonius Apollinaris, Ennodius, Boethius, and, expecially, Cassiodorus. To state without qualification that the Christian writers must be dealt with separately because "logic compelled [them] to oppose the Roman ideal," and that, "paradoxically, though not un-Roman, [they] were anti-Roman" (p. 414), is to misunderstand the whole political complexion of the late Roman Empire and the true spirit of Christian humanism in the golden age of patristic literature. The bibliographical notes are generally satisfactory. A few important omissions, however, may be indicated. On page 456: add P. de Labriolle, *La reaction païenne. Etude sur la polémique antichrétienne du Ier au VI^e siècle,* 6th ed. (Paris, 1942). Pages 457-458: add H. I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris, 1938-1949). This work would have given the author a correct insight into the attitude of the Christian writers toward Rome and pagan culture in general.

Formal reference should have been made to the two new series of translations of Christian writers, namely, Fathers of the Church, and Ancient Christian Writers. They began in 1946 and some fifteen volumes have appeared in each to date (December, 1952). A volume from each is listed under Arnobius and Salvian respectively, but no mention is made of the series to which these volumes belong. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

HANKE, LEWIS. *Bartolomé de Las Casas, Historian.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1952. Pp. xiii, 125. $3.75.)

This volume is an English translation of the introduction written by Mr. Hanke for the recent Mexican edition of the *Historia de las Indias.* In accordance with that original purpose, the author aims to give the reader an understanding of the value and scope of Las Casas' major historical work. Especially enlightening are the chapters which deal with the sources used by the bishop, his method of using the sources, and the reasons why Las Casas wrote history. Finally the author summarizes the opinions of historians towards the *History of the Indies.* In this regard, the laudatory opinion of Samuel E. Morison is quoted, although the condemnation by Raúl Porras Barrenechea, who in his field enjoys, perhaps, equal prestige, is not cited.

There are several inaccuracies both in the footnotes and in the bibliography which are lacking in the Spanish original. Could this be an instance where an author is blamed for the negligence of an editor? (ANTONINE S. TIBESAR)

HEIST, WILLIAM W. *The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday.* (Lansing: Michigan State College Press. 1952. Pp. vi, 231. $5.00.)

Although many Christians have been mindful of Christ's warning that neither the day nor the hour of His second coming would be revealed to man, there have been, from the earliest centuries, a number of people who have "sought for a sign." In the Middle Ages this group developed gradually the legend of the Fifteen Signs before the Day of Doom. Professor Heist has examined about 100 different versions in the various languages of Europe and the Orient in an attempt to trace this development. These texts go back ultimately to apocrypha which attained their full development once they were transplanted to the rich soil of the Irish imagination. Here the *Psaltair na Rann* (Psalter of the Staves) and the *Tenga Bithnua* (the Evernew Tongue) are proven to be the immediate source of the genre as we have it in a dozen literatures in western Europe.

The author has built up a good case and his general results are convincing. He has reviewed all earlier scholarship on the question and disproved the earlier conclusions of Nölle and Grau who did their work in the 1870's. We should expect by now a greater number of available texts and a refinement of method over that of seventy-five years ago, although as he himself admits, the state of Irish lexicography still leaves much to be desired.

In his conclusion he offers as corollary two statements which are rather disturbing, the first to the rank and file of historical and literary students who are Anglo-

philes by tradition and training, when he says that the Synod of Whitby had not stemmed the continuation of Irish influence. The second I find far more serious to those of us of orthodox belief; he believes that Ireland may have preserved a *genuine survival of primitive Christian tradition* (italics mine) in legends like that of the Fifteen Signs. Aside from this, the book has proven its thesis and concludes with a good bibliography of source material as well as a list of interesting texts which the author has not consulted. (ROBERT T. MEYER)

HIGGINBOTHAM, SANFORD W. *The Keystone of the Democratic Arch, 1800-1816*, (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1952. Pp. x, 417. Cloth, $3.00; paper, $2.50.)

This volume deals with Pennsylvania's turbulent political life during the administrations of Governors Thomas McKean (1799-1808) and Simon Snyder (1808-1817), six of its thirteen chapters being devoted to each administration with Chapter XIII serving as a summary. From the national viewpoint it covers the presidencies of Thomas Jefferson (1800-1808) and James Madison (1808-1816), the ascendancy of the Jeffersonian Republicans over the Federalists being the general theme. Pennsylvania Republicans were so convinced of the vital role played by their state in the election of Jefferson that they referred to it thereafter as "the key stone in the democratic arch," hence the title of Dr. Higginbotham's book.

Pennsylvania had always been a liberal, democratic state. Its first constitution of 1776, and the revised one of 1790, bear witness to that. Fewer restrictions were placed upon suffrage than in most states. It was also essentially rural and agricultural. Federalism, regarded as the party of wealth, birth, and education came to be unpopular and began to decline with the election of Governor McKean in 1799. After the Democratic Republicans got the upper hand, however, factionalism rent the victorious party from within. Dr. Higginbotham has drawn on such vast depositories as the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the splendid available files of early Pennsylvania newspapers to write an absorbing story.

This is the third volume of a series dealing with the early political history of Pennsylvania. The first was *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790* by Robert J. Brunhouse (1942) and the second, *The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790-1801* by Harry Marlin Tinkcom (1950). All three have been directed by Professor Roy F. Nichols, outstanding authority in the field of political history, and are a distinct credit to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission which has published them. (CHARLES A. COSTELLO)

HOLLAND, SISTER M. ILDEFONSE, R.S.M. *Lengthened Shadows. A History of the Sisters of Mercy, Cedar Rapids, Iowa*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1952. Pp. 337. $4.50.)

The author states her purpose in the sub-title, "A History of the Sisters of Mercy, Cedar Rapids, Iowa;" then using a step by step review of the growth of the congregation in numbers and houses she accomplishes her goal.

The narrative is one of pioneering that has its parallel in all religious communities. The book is divided into four parts. Part I records the founding of the order in Ireland by Mother McAuley; sending a foundation to Pittsburgh under the leadership of Mother Xavier Warde; their continued move westward until they came to Iowa in 1867 and to Cedar Rapids in 1875; thereby lengthening the shadow of Mother McAuley. Part II is devoted to the pioneering of the Cedar Rapids house, emphasizing the activities of the congregation primarily in the northern half of Iowa and in Kalispell, Montana. Part III relates many experiences in opening schools and hospitals. This section is complete with listing of teachers and nurses assigned to the schools and hospitals, as well as students who entered the religious life from the parishes served by them. Part IV contains biographical sketches of several deceased members, most of whom served as mothers of the order.

The appendices include a chronology; a list of living members of the congregation; a necrology; government of the Sisters of Mercy and growth by administrations; a list of institutions under auspices of the Sisters of Mercy, Cedar Rapids; and finally notes and bibliography.

Sister Ildephonse used some secondary source material in Parts I and II, but she depends upon primary sources (institutional records, accounts by members of the order, letters from former students, and interviews with the older local citizens) for Parts III and IV. Being a history of the congregation, it is meager in parallel local history. *Lengthened Shadows* will be of special interest to all the people who have been affected by the congregation either directly or indirectly. (AGNES RENNER)

KLAUSER, THEODOR. *The Western Liturgy and Its History. Some Reflections on Recent Studies*. Translated by F. L. Cross. (London: A. R. Mowbray and Co. 1952. Pp. 63. 4/.)

Professor Cross' translation of Theodor Klauser's lectures at the University of Bonn in 1943 is very readable. Nor have the lectures lost anything of their interest; but due to the continual advances being made in liturgical studies there are some important points to be reconsidered. The transition from Latin to Greek in Rome began already in the middle of the second century, as the Shepherd of Hermas indicates, and not—as Klauser maintains—only in the third. [Cf. Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, (Westminster, Maryland, 1951) I, 22.] To conclude from Hippolytus to the non-existence of the trinitarian baptismal formula is to err. The *Didache*, the most important document of the sub-apostolic period, is very clear in this regard (7, 1-3). In short, while the booklet has all the interesting features of a popular summary of the advances in liturgical history made in recent years, it falls into sweeping statements which cannot be proved. An example of this is found on page 39 where we read that the Roman liturgy "did not open its doors to the Mother of God until two hundred years after the Council of Ephesus." Considering the Marian significance of the feasts of Christmas and Epiphany and the numerous second and third-century pictures of the Blessed Mother in the Roman catacombs, such a statement is a grave overstatement, to say the least.

The Marian *monumenta* in the Roman catacombs point to a liturgical cultus of the Mother of God in Rome centuries before the Council of Ephesus. [Cf. O. Marucchi *Manual of Christian Archeology*, (Paterson, 1935) pp. 319-326.] (HERMES KREILKAMP)

KNAPLUND, PAUL. *James Stephen and the British Colonial System, 1813-1847.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1953. Pp. vii, 315. $5.50.)

For the generation that Sir James Stephen labored in the Colonial Office, a single Secretary of State acted for War and Colonies. Partly for that reason and largely because he was James Stephen, the Colonial Office and Stephen appeared to contemporaries as nearly synonymous. Consequently Knaplund could not avoid giving to his book some biographical flavor, though this was not his main purpose. The second chapter sketches Stephen's life and describes his character. The succeeding topical chapters amplify this sketch by discussing British policy in general and Stephen's views and work on particular colonial problems. This useful book is carefully documented and based mainly upon Colonial Office records. The going is often routine, but Stephen emerges both as a personality and as an able civil servant. Knaplund frankly admires him, and his judgments deserve the respect owing to high authority and critical scholarship. Humane, deeply religious, an "idealist with strong common sense," Stephen was "not a starry-eyed visionary." Yet in the days of the Little Englanders he hoped that the union of the colonies with Britain would be "perpetual" and free, and he warned that the moment the union ceased to be "spontaneous and cordial" it would lose its value. (CARL B. CONE)

LYNSKEY, ELIZABETH M. *The Government of the Catholic Church.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1952. Pp. x, 102. $2.00.)

This slender volume of ninety-nine pages, including a foreword by George N. Shuster and an introduction by John J. Meng, proposes a detailed picture of the vast complexity of the operational and organizational structure of the Catholic Church. Without excursions into the dogmatic or moral aspects of the Church, the author gives a straightforward delineation of the universal, national, and local scopes of jurisdiction and their integration. With so vast a field and committed to so small a volume the author, nevertheless, manages ample illustration of the principal operational features by drawing on the rich traditions of the functioning government of the Church. The few pages devoted to the question of United States-Vatican relations are concise, timely, and sufficiently thorough to dispel fears, if any there be, in an objective reader.

This will be, undoubtedly, a worthwhile contribution in the field of government, but because of the extent of the field and the brevity of the book, the volume heaps fact upon fact with such conciseness and rapidity that it will fairly submerge the reader. One would wish that either the scope or the brevity had been altered to allow room for flesh to the bone. (DAVID DUNCAN)

McGRATTY, ARTHUR R., S.J. *The Fire of Francis Xavier.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1952. Pp. viii, 295. $4.00.)

The interest aroused by the recent memorable tour of the great relic of the universal patron of Catholic missions, and the present fourth centenary celebrations of the death of St. Francis Xavier, make this book a timely and fascinating study. The story told by Father McGratty is the story of another St. Paul. Indeed, the similarity between the two is great both as to their zeal for souls and as to the vicissitudes undergone in their apostolate. Even without such references to Paul of Tarsus in this book as there are, the reader would not fail to recall many a scene in the life of that "vessel of election." Another conversion is wrought by Christ when from the lips of the future founder of the Company of Jesus, Francis, an ambitious professor at Paris, heard those words, "What will it profit you if you win all earthly honors?" And the fire of an apostolic zeal is lit by a soul which aimed at world conquest, a fire that was to enkindle India, Malaya, Japan, and China with the love of Christ.

The story is told in a fresh, popular, and simple way. People at large will appreciate the account of Xavier's labors and admire his unselfishness and sacrifices for the salvation of souls. Some might call his objectives madness; but it was the madness of the cross. Father McGratty has skillfully unfolded his story in the background of a century of scepticism, corruption of Christian morals, and contempt for the abject of society. St. Francis is here presented during his wanderings in the Orient as fighting these great cankers.

This book tells convincingly of Xavier's giving and spending for the love of Christ to the most needy in the hospitals, to the poor in the streets, to the children in the villages, to the sailors in his travellings, to the corrupt officials in the cities, and to his own confrères in their work. Like St. Paul, St. Francis stands out as the founder of Christian communities; like St. Paul, too, he finds hostility among his own kind, the dissolute Portuguese, and turns to the gentiles. We are told of the enormous success in the short decade that he lived in the Orient under the most trying of difficulties, physical and mental. Again like St. Paul, Francis discovered his attentive listeners and faithful converts among the common people. The spiritual stature of Xavier and the secret of his success is found, I believe, in that phrase, "Selflessness marked every step of his way," and in the remark of the saint in face of disappointment, "One does one's best, then leaves the rest to God." The author, a fellow Jesuit, has succeeded in writing what he set out to do —a fine story of a true apostle afire with the love of God. (MARIO A. MICH)

MENG, JOHN J. (Ed.). *Historical Records and Studies.* Volume XXXIX-XL. (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1952. Pp. 201.)

This double volume contains the material for the two annual volumes of 1950 and 1951, and with one exception consists of papers read at the meetings of the society. John Tracy Ellis' "Cardinal Gibbons and New York" will serve to whet the reader's appetite for the author's monumental two-volume *Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* published last November. Thomas T. McAvoy's "The Catholic Minority in the United States, 1789-1821" is another study on a theme about

which he has written before in various periodicals. Father McAvoy's article contains a number of well taken points such as "trusteeism was an unfortunate name for the conflict because so many of the trustees were and have always been very zealous for the welfare of the Church." This unfortunate term, coupled with a vague knowledge of its history, still colors the thinking and philosophy of too many clerics in their relation to the faithful laity. Professor Elizabeth M. Lynskey's series of papers on "The Government of the Catholic Church" has since been published in book form by P. J. Kenedy Co. (New York, 1952) with added material. The right people will unfortunately never see this excellent treatise. "A Memoir of Archbishop Hughes, 1838-1858," edited by Henry J. Browne is the famous 1858 report to Propaganda on the Archdiocese of New York published now in full for the first time. It leads one to hope that Father Browne's work on Hughes may soon appear. Although each of these essays has its own peculiar value, because of the publications of separate works by the same authors, the scholar will welcome most that on Hughes—especially because of its documentary character. (J. HERMAN SCHAUINGER)

MESNARD, JEAN. *Pascal: His Life and Works.* Preface by Monsignor Ronald Knox. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1952. Pp. xvi, 210. $3.75.)

"A marvel of compression and lucidity," these words from the preface are a good characterization of this recent study on Pascal. In the small compass of 200 pages the author has given us a biography of Pascal, an analysis of his two works of interest to the Catholic reader, the *Provincial Letters* and the *Pensées*, and a final appreciation of the man, the thinker, and the artist. A selected bibliography will be of service to the student, and the reader will get a sense of closeness to Pascal from photographs of the *Memorial* and of four portraits of the hero.

In the translation which renders the original French satisfactorily enough we have picked up a few errata: "prescribe" for "proscribe" (p. 87), "preposition" for "proposition" (p. 112), "Molnier" for "Molinier" (p. 141), "so as *the* possess" for "so as *to* possess," (p. 129). The seventeenth-century French "honnête homme" was rather a "man of culture" than an "honest" man (p. 48); Pascal did not "placate" souls, he urged on to perfection (p. 106), nor did he "postulate," but rather "assume," the principle of opposite errors (p. 109).

The reader interested in the religious history of France will find new light on the role Pascal played in the Jansenistic crisis. The *Provincial Letters* are presented no longer as a piece of pure pamphleteering directed against the Jesuits and the casuists, but as the reaction of a deeply religious soul—they were written hardly more than one year after Pascal's conversion—to the bitter controversies about sufficient and efficacious grace between Molinists and their opponents, and to the admittedly laxist casuistry of some moral theologians of the type of Escobar. Indeed, Pascal leaned in dogma to the Jansenists' stress on man's utter dependence on God, and in morals to their rigorism. At times in the heat of controversy he violated charity and made statements that can be challenged; but laxism has been condemned by the Church, and to this day Thomists and Molinists carry on their controversy.

Since the first edition of *Les Pensées* by Port Royal in 1670 many attempts, most of them arbitrary, have been made at reconstructing the plan of what was to be an apology of Christianity. Mr. Mesnard adopts substantially the solution offered by Louis Lafuma in 1947, which consists simply in accepting Pascal's own plan. Before his last illness he had classified a good part of his manuscript notes and "threaded them in twenty-seven batches" which are taken to represent as many chapters of his final work. The plan appears very clearly: the first part (Chapters I-XI) aims at putting the unbeliever in a frame of mind in which he would be willing to accept the faith; the second (Chapters XII-XXVII) attempts a demonstration of the truth of religion, mostly by means of historical proofs. The concluding chapter stresses the need of grace. (JULES A. BAISNÉE)

MICHELL, H. *Sparta*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1952. Pp. x, 348. $7.00.)

This work is not a comprehensive history of Sparta but rather a systematic description of the people of Sparta and their institutions. With the slightly earlier book of K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta. A Reconstruction of the Evidence* (Manchester, 1950), it is very welcome, for we have long needed detailed works on Sparta written in English. The monograph by Chrimes was published too late, apparently, to be used by Michell, but the different approaches of the two authors have prevented undue overlapping. Michell is at his best in the chapters dealing with the Spartan constitution and social and economic life in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. His treatment of early Sparta and of the Lycurgan reform follows the pattern accepted by scholars since the early twenties. It exhibits no really new and independent re-examination of the problems involved. Here and there in the text and in the footnotes, one meets uncritical or unqualified generalizations, such as: "The Spartans were Dorians, the Athenians were Ionians; as different as chalk from cheese" . . . (p. 3). The select bibliography does not list any book later than 1941, but the references in the footnotes indicate that much of the pertinent literature published in the period 1940-1950 has been utilized. All in all, *Sparta* is a very useful and interesting book for the general reader rather than for the specialist. It is unfortunate that the price is so high. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

POSTAN, M. M. AND E. E. RICH (Eds.). *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Volume II. *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 604. $9.00.)

The preface to this new volume of the *Cambridge Economic History* shows vividly how the impact of contemporary barbarism has multiplied the problems inherent in any enterprise of co-operative scholarship. "Marc Bloch . . . was shot by the Gestapo"; "Gunnar Mickwitz . . . died on active service in Finland;" "Only one of the foreign contributors originally invited . . . was able to send in his contribution before Hitler occupied Western Europe." And then, after the war, "Contacts with scholars in Eastern Europe . . . proved difficult to establish and impossible to maintain."

The editors are, indeed, to be congratulated on the quality of their achievement in such difficult circumstances. The reader may even feel at times that they have succeeded in making virtues out of necessities. Because the specialists who were to have written on land transport, shipping, and eastern trade were unable to complete their assignments, these topics have been included in the general chapters on mediaeval commerce; and so we have, as the heart of this volume, two far-ranging and brilliant essays on the trade of mediaeval Europe by two admirably equipped historians. Professor Postan writes on the north of Europe, Professor Lopez on the south. These central chapters are introduced by sections on the trade and industry of Barbarian Europe (V. Gordon Childe), of the Late Roman Empire (F. W. Walbank), and of Byzantium (Steven Runciman). The work is completed by three chapters dealing with particular industries. E. Carus-Wilson writes ably on the mediaeval wool trade, J. U. Nef displays again his gift for felicitous generalization in a chapter on mining and metallurgy, and G. P. Jones provides a brief discussion on the organization of mediaeval building operations. It is unfortunate that L. F. Salzman's recent work appeared too late to be used in the preparation of this last chapter. Urban development and finance are not discussed in the present volume; they are reserved for Volume III of the series. The book is equipped with illustrations, maps, bibliographies, and index and is handsomely produced in accordance with the usual high standards of its publishers. (BRIAN TIERNEY)

ROSENHEIM, RICHARD. *The Eternal Drama.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1952. Pp. xi, 303. $6.00.)

In the preface of this work Mr. Rosenheim has stated the purpose for which this book was written. It is "... addressed to everyone who wants to meet the present crisis of Humanity with attentive readiness and conscious understanding; it is aimed at rendering a truly comprehensive picture of the wondrous ways on which man has marked the score of his progressive evolution on the tablets of Contemporary Drama and Theatre throughout five thousand years of secret and recorded history. In telling of many things, partly forgotten, partly not yet apprehended by modern Art and Science, it might be taken as a treatise, a confession, and a challenge." A very modest and unassuming view of one's work!

Unfortunately, it does not fulfill its sententious and pretentious self-importance. Beginning with a religio-mystic thesis that smacks of neo-Manicheanism, that man is constantly striving to escape from the darkness of the body to the light of the soul, the author has examined what he claims are the sacred dramatic mysteries of diverse cultures ranging from ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome, Mexico, India, Tibet, to modern Europe and America. He contends he has found a pattern of events celebrated in secretive dramatic rites which is not exclusively Christian: the fall, incarnation, and redemption; that Christ was merely the turning point in this recurrent motif which is the theme of the eternal drama.

Written in a turgid, verbose, over-laden prose style and containing what he thinks is patent proof of what is, at best, an incredibly tenuous proposition, Mr.

Rosenheim ought not to be surprised if the work is received by more objective historians with scornful dubiety or violent denunciation. (JOHN M. COPPINGER)

SANGER, DONALD B., AND THOMAS R. HAY. *James Longstreet: The Soldier, The Politician.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1952. Pp. viii, 452. $6.50.)

This book, as its title indicates, is not a biography, strictly speaking, but rather a study of several of the aspects of the life of Lieutenant-General James Longstreet, C.S.A. It is the first work to appear since that of Eckenrode and Conrad, now nearly twenty years old, which is devoted exclusively to the controversial general, and like the earlier work this is a joint effort. However, the present volume devotes not a little attention to a hitherto neglected portion of Longstreet's life, namely, his post-bellum career as a Republican politician in Louisiana.

While the competence of the authors is certainly evidenced, it is to be regretted that their considerable research failed to unearth fuller factual material on the first and last forty-year periods of the subject's life—particularly the former—and that Sanger's exhaustively detailed treatment of Longstreet's generalship during the Civil War is marred by a rather antiquated style of writing (one is almost tempted to call it Victorian) and encumbered by his not infrequent explorations into the mind of the general before, during, and after particular events. This may be good psychology, but it does not make for good history. Hay's contribution, on the other hand, appears to come off quite a bit better and is characterized by a much livelier presentation.

But this is a pioneer work, it must be remembered, and spade-work is rarely done neatly enough to satisfy everyone. (JOHN WILLIAM MURPHY)

SIH, PAUL K. T. *From Confucius to Christ.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1952. Pp. xvi, 231. $3.00.)

The road to Rome followed by Professor Sih was uncharted. It meandered from his childhood training in Buddhism to his exposure to Protestantism during his school days, from his cultivation of Confucianism to his participation in the Moral Re-Armament of Dr. Buchman. The way, however, was not without a well-illuminated guidepost here and there to point out the right path; the reading of *The Science of Love*, the lesson in divine love of the Little Flower, a visit to a great cathedral, a narrow escape in the forced landing of a plane, sweating out a mortar shelling by guerrillas in the Balkans, and coming through unharmed in an automobile accident that might have been disastrous. It is impossible to overestimate the influence and example of the saintly scholar, Dr. John C. H. Wu, in the author's conversion to the Catholic Church. At the latter's baptism on April 5, 1949, in St. Agnes' Church in Rome, Dr. Wu became his godfather. It is interesting to note that in all the religions, whether occidental or oriental, that touched him during life, Dr. Sih found "incentives" for him to accept the Catholic Church.

The author, who is a professor and director of the Institute of Far Eastern Studies at Seton Hall University, tells us the story of his conversion frankly and humbly. Step by step he takes the reader with him along the ways and byways until he finds the road that leads straight to Christ. His clear, straightforward style makes for pleasant and instructive reading. In simple language he speaks to the heart of the reader as well as to the intellect. Concerning his conversion, Dr. Sih writes; "My entrance into the Church has meant only the surrender of my will to what have long been the dictates of logic for me."

Many Catholic missionaries driven from China during the past two years have remarked, in effect, that communism will never succeed in destroying the Church because the communists have directed their attacks on Mary, the Mother of God, and on her Legion. Mary is unconquerable. This Chinese convert has dedicated this heart-warming story of his conversion to Mary Immaculate who played such a major role in bringing him within the bosom of the Church of her divine Son. The conversion of this Chinese scholar gives us a basis for hope that others of his countrymen will one day follow in his footsteps. Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, in his preface to this book, gives expression to this hope when he sees in this story, "... a symbol of the leaven which is already working within the soul of China itself." (JOHN J. DALY)

TINDALL, GEORGE B. *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900.* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 336. $5.00.)

The reviewer was very pleased at the first sight of this book in seeing that so fine an example of bookmaking should be issued from the University of South Carolina Press. The Tindall volume is an earnest of the ability of this press to produce scholarly works in a format that is attractive and conducive to reading.

Turning to the content, however, one looks in vain for any mention of the work of the Catholic Church among the Negroes of South Carolina. Although little of the Church's effort has been written up, since other materials were taken from the daily press, so items relative to the work of the Catholic Church could also have been found. Certainly, if Mr. Tindall could find a reference to the Wallingford Academy on page 125 of the *Year Book of the City of Charleston* for 1880, he could have also observed on page 122 of the same volume the reference to a school for Negroes attached to St. Peter's Catholic Church. This church, which was dedicated in 1868 for the use of a Negro congregation and has been served since that time by both diocesan and religious priests, would bear mention in the text. At least sufficient information for a paragraph on it could have been obtained by consulting any priest in the Diocese of Charleston.

Beyond his neglect to make any mention of the Church, Mr. Tindall has produced a thoroughly readable and scholarly work. He seems to have reviewed very well the many aspects such as political position, social status, and economic situation that one would wish to study relating to Negroes during these years. The work is, then, a valuable survey, a fact which was publicly attested to when the volume was given second place recognition in the competition for the John

H. Dunning Award of the American Historical Association. (RICHARD C. MADDEN)

ULAM, ADAM B. *Philosophical Foundations of English Socialism.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. 173, $3.75.)

This book has nothing to do with the present policies of the British Labor Party, nor with its history. It is more of an account of those political theories which later crystallized in political action by Britain's trade unions. Ulam spends almost half of the book justifying the importance of political theory and the nature of idealism. It is the chapters on the Fabian essays, pluralism, and reform which are more interesting. From these chapters it is clear that the founders of the British Labor Party were motivated more by the spirit of social reconstruction than by the idea of class struggle, influenced more by John Stuart Mill and Henry George than by Marx and Engel. The Webbs, for example, both Sidney and Beatrice, were sincerely seeking new answers to the problem of democracy in an industrial society. Christian ethics set much of the tone of their idealist philosophy. While they, and other British socialist thinkers, possessed a temperamental dislike of capitalism, they did not advocate abrupt or violent measures. It is impossible to exaggerate the cautious and democratic character of their socialism. Writing of the changes that must be made in Britain's economy, Sidney Webb held that they must be "(1) democratic, that is, 'acceptable to the majority of the people and prepared for in the minds of all'; (2) gradual, causing no dislocation; (3) not regarded as immoral by the mass of the people, and thus not subjectively demoralizing to them; (4) 'In this country at any rate constitutional and peaceful' " (p. 74). In the minds of all English, non-Marxian, socialists the advent of socialism is linked not with the increasing misery of the masses, as Marx predicted, but with the single fact of technology, the separation of ownership from control, and the rise of the managerial class.

There is little doubt that ideas, cautiously but skillfully and consistently presented, do mold political institutions, providing the thinkers have the literary talent the Fabians possessed. Ulam, dedicated to the British brand of socialism, has little patience with the guild socialism of Penty, Chesterton, and Belloc, concluding that "guild socialism was constructed by people who were quite sure of what they did not like but who were not equally sure of what they wanted" (p. 53). He believes that "the future of British socialism . . . is tied up with the future of democratic institutions. The concept of the welfare state has become part of the mold of democratic ideas and can no longer be detached without disfiguring British democracy. No change in the political scene can erase the major reforms from the statute books nor can it affect the notion that those reforms are an irreplaceable feature of a free society" (p. 161).

This is no easy book to read for any length of time, not because it is profound but because the style is difficult. Ulam tries to be a Toynbee without having Toynbee's learning. However, it has a thesis which the author sustains. (GEORGE A. KELLY)

WHITEHILL, WALTER MUIR. *A Memorial to Bishop Cheverus with a Catalogue of the Books Given by Him to the Boston Athenaeum.* (Boston: Boston Athenaeum. 1951. Pp. xxi, 11.)

This is a handsome commemorative brochure, issued in the spring of 1951, on the occasion of the celebration of the bimillenary of the foundation of the city of Paris when it was thought "appropriate that the Athenaeum should commemorate France's greatest gift to the spiritual life of Boston by the exhibit of Bishop Cheverus's library." A biographical sketch summarizing the contribution of Bishop Jean Louis Anne Magdeleine Lefebvre de Cheverus to Boston and to New England, and emphasizing the esteem in which he was held by non-Catholic and Catholic alike, precedes the exhibit catalogue of the seventy-one titles donated by the bishop to the Athenaeum. (EUGENE P. WILLGING)

WILSON, JOHN A. *The Burden of Egypt. An Interpretation of Ancient Egyptian Culture.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1951. Pp. xix, 332. $6.00.)

The author, one of the leading Egyptologists of our time, describes his book as an "interpretative essay" rather than as an historical survey in the conventional sense. Against the background of the main political developments in the history of Egypt from the earliest times to Alexander the Great, he offers an interpretation of the characteristic elements in the Egyptian achievement and outlook on life in each period as recorded or expressed in a literature and art which always remained predominantly religious. On the basis of his first-hand knowledge of the sources and of his control of the work accomplished by others, Professor Wilson has produced the most penetrating and reliable appreciation of Egyptian civilization which has appeared to date. Furthermore, the book is written in a clear and attractive style. The Scriptural title and the Scriptural echoes in the titles of several chapters are especially happy and appropriate. Students of the Old Testament will find in Chapter IX, "Irrepressible Conflict" (pp. 206-235), probably the most authoritative evaluation so far available on Akh-en-taton and his religious revolution. Chapter XI, "The Broken Reed" (pp. 289-318), contains an excellent treatment of Egyptian religious ideas and attitudes in the period of decline and a critical summation of Egypt's cultural contributions, both in themselves and in respect to the influence exerted on other peoples. The book is furnished with thirty-two pages of plates and a good index. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

History and Its Significance. R. G. Bury (*Cambridge Jrn.*, Mar.).

History and the Study of the Classics. Hajo Holborn (*Jrn. of the Hist. of Ideas*, Jan.).

Political Justice. Julius Gould (*Cambridge Jrn.*, Apr.).

Grundsätzliches zum Werke Arnold J. Toynbees. F. Hampl (*Historische Zeitschrift*, June, 1952).

Staatsauffassung in der Karolingerzeit. Th. Mayer (*ibid.*).

Sully, Crucé und das Problem des allgemeinen Friedens. K. v. Raumer (*ibid.*, Feb., 1953).

Impact of Wars on Religion. Salo W. Baron (*Political Science Quart.*, Dec.).

Die historische Entwicklung der Pastoral-Medizin. Albert Niedermeyer (*Theologische Revue*, No. 1, 1953).

La notion de génération en histoire. Yves Renouard (*Revue historique*, Jan.).

Etudes sur la peinture murale romane. Georges Gaillard (*ibid.*).

Histoire de la colonisation (1945-1951). Henri Brunschwig (*ibid.*).

A Struggle for Liberty in the Renaissance: Florence, Venice, and Milan in the Early Quattrocento. Hans Baron (*American Histor. Rev.*, Apr.).

Les deux grands évêques de la réforme catholique. P. Broutin, S.J. (*Nouvelle revue théologique*, Mar. and Apr.).

Un serviteur fidèle, Samt'andjimba (1816-1900). V. Rondelez, C.I.C.M. (*Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft-Nouvelle revue de science missionnaire*, IX Jahrgang, Heft 1, 1953).

Die S. Congregatio de Prop. Fide und die Bücherzensur der apostolischen Missionäre. Nik. Kowalsky, O.M.I. (*ibid.*).

The Ecclesiastical Province of West Pakistan. Fr. Emmerick, O.F.M. Cap. (*ibid.*).

The Nineteenth Century Catholic Critique of the Liberal Theory of Freedom of Thought and Utterance. Franz H. Mueller (*Social Justice Rev.*, Apr.).

Select Historical Readings in Ancient History [bibliography]. Daniel D. McGarry (*Histor. Bull.*, Mar.).

Le cadre historique des manuscrits de la Mer Morte. G. Vermes (*Recherches de science religieuse*, Jan.).

Episcopat et presbytérat dans les écrits d'Hippolyte de Rome. Joseph Lécuyer (*ibid.*).

La mystique trinitaire du Bienheureux Jean Ruusbroec. Paul Henry (*ibid.*).

Littéralisme biblique et typologie au XVI^{e} siècle. L'Ancien Testament dans les controverses protestantes sur la liberté religieuse. Joseph Lecler (*ibid.*).

Le calendrier dominical romain au VI^{e} siècle. L'épistolier et l'mohéliaire prégrégoriens. Antoine Chavesse (*ibid.*).

Les sermons 355-356 de Saint Augustin et la *Regula Sancti Augustini*. Melchior Verheijen. (*ibid.*, Apr.).

Note chronologique sur la retraite spirituelle de Bérulle. François de Dainville (*ibid.*).

Fouille au Khirbet Qumran. R.P.R. de Vaux (*Revue biblique*, Jan.).

"Gesetz der Freiheit" im NT und in der Mönchsgemeinde am Toten Meer. F. Nötscher (*Biblica*, Vol. 34, Fasc. 2, 1953).

Due mausolei da pagani cristiani presso san Sebastiano. A. Ferrua (*Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1-2, 1952).

Il significato primitivo della leggenda "Pax perpetua" sulle monete degli imperatori romani. G. Manthey (*ibid.*).

La cripta di Ampliato nel cimitero di Domitilla sull'Ardeatina. P. Testini (*ibid.*).

Altre osservazioni di meteorologia ipogea nelle catacombe romane. U. Zabeo (*ibid.*).

Gli avori di san Mena fra i cammelli e della supposta "Cattedra di san Marco in Grado" delle Civiche Raccolte d'Arte di Milano. G. Belloni (*ibid.*).

Le sens de la "divison des sexes" chez Grégoire de Nysse. F. Floeri (*Revue des sciences religieuses*, Apr.).

A propos des danses liturgiques. S. Giet (*ibid.*).

Patristique et hagiographie. H. Chirat (*ibid.*).

Augustine on the Creation of the World. William A. Christian (*Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Jan.).

Some Early Medieval Commentaries on the Old Testament. M. L. W. Laistner (*ibid.*).

The Crown of Thorns. Campbell Bonner (*ibid.*).

O ouro muculmano do VII au XI século. As bases monetárias de uma supremacia econômica. Maurice Lombard (*Revista de história*, Jan.).

The Oath of Purgation of Pope Leo III in 800. Howard Adelson and Robert Baker (*Traditio*, Vol. VII, 1952).

Une oeuvre inconnue de Florus de Lyon: La collection "De fide" de Montpellier. Célestin Charlier (*ibid.*).

The Old-French Poem St. Alexis: A Mathematical Demonstration. Anna Granville Hatcher (*ibid.*).

The Schism of Anacletus II and the Glanfeuil Forgeries of Peter the Deacon. Herbert Bloch (*ibid.*).

Iacobus Veneticus Grecus: Canonist and Translator of Aristotle. L. Minio-Paluello (*ibid.*).

Die Lehre von der Interpellation beim Paulinischen Privileg in der Kirchenrechtsschule von Bologna, 1140 bis 1234. Othmar F. Rink (*ibid.*).

Rudolph Agricola's Life of Petrarch. Theodor E. Mommsen (*ibid.*).

An Etymology of *hagios* in a work of Caesarius of Arles. Richard M. Frank (*ibid.*).

Greek Translations of the "Adoro te devote" and the "Ave verum." John P. Cavarnos (*ibid.*).

Note sull 'Aristotele latino medievale. L. M. Paluello (*Rivista di filosofia neoscolastica*, Nov.).

Balduino II de Constantinopla y la Orden de Santiago. Un proyecto de defensa del Imperio latino de Oriente. Eloy Benito Ruano (*Hispania*, Jan., 1952).

Les maîtresses positions de Duns Scot d'après le Prolog de l'Ordinatio. Etienne Gilson (*Antonianum*, Jan.).

Gilson and Duns Scotus. Linus J. Thro (*New Scholasticism*, Apr.).

Saint Thomas d'Aquin et le droit de propriété. Eugène Babin (*La revue de l'Université Laval*, Apr.).

The Liturgical Legislation of the Franciscan Rules. Stephen J. P. Van Dijk, O.F.M. (*Franciscan Studies*, Sept.-Dec.).

Incipits of Logical Writings of the XIIIth-XVth Centuries. Gaudens E. Mohan, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

La misión franciscana de Marruecos en un momento crítico de su historia. Pedro de Anasagasti, O.F.M. (*Archivo Ibero-Americano*, Jan.).

Capuchins and Medicine. Reynold Rynda, O.F.M. Cap. (*Round Table of Franciscan Research*, Apr.).

The Capuchin Preaching Apostolate in the First Epoch of the Reform (1528-1618). Fabian Fehring, O.F.M. Cap. (*ibid.*).

Bishop Jón Arason (1484-1550). Tryggvi J. Oleson (*Speculum*, Apr.).

Messire Robert de Boron: Enquiry and Summary. William A. Nitze (*ibid.*).

Saint Augustine and Nicholas of Cusa in the Tradition of Western Christian Thought. F. Edward Cranz (*ibid.*).

The Apostles and the Creed. Curt F. Bühler (*ibid.*).

The Persian Campaign in Syria in A.D. 540. Glanville Downey (*ibid.*).

The Church of Alexandria and the City's Economic Life in the Sixth Century. George R. Monks (*ibid.*).

Griselda in Iceland: A Supplement. Margaret Schlauch (*ibid.*).

Fulk of Neuilly and the Tournament of Ecry. Edgar H. McNeal (*ibid.*).

"Et Toz les Bons Sains de Namet." Louis H. Gray (*ibid.*).

Gli studi teologici di Giovanni de Polanco alle origini della legislazione scolastica della Compagnia di Gesù. Angelo Martini, S.I. (*Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, July-Dec., 1952).

La "Dialectique" de Pierre de la Ramée. Michel Dassonville (*La revue de l'Université Laval*, Mar.).

L'église catholique en Afrique du Sud. Paul Lajeunesse, O.M.I. (*ibid.*, Apr.).

Matthew 11, 27 in the "Contra Haereses of St. Irenaeus." Robert Luckhart, O.M.I. (*ibid.*).

Gilles de Rome, o.e.s.a., et la distinction réelle de l'essence et de l'existence. Adrian Pattin, O.M.I. (*ibid.*).

The Nineteenth Century Catholic Critique of the Liberal Theory of Freedom of Thought and Utterance. Franz H. Mueller (*Social Justice Rev.*, May).

Die Weltkirchenkonferenz von Lund. Oskar Simmel, S.J. (*Stimmen der Zeit*, Mar.).

Indische Weisheit und christlicher Glaube. Winfried Petri (*ibid.*).

The Efforts for Reunion in Malankara, South India. Father Placid, T.O.C.D. (*Unitas*, Jan.).

Les musulmans dans le monde. P. Rondot (*Etudes*, Apr.).

EUROPEAN

Recherches sur les comtes de Lyon aux IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles. E. Fournial (*Le moyen âge*, Nos. 3-4, 1952).

Le comte de Mortain au XI^{e} siècle. J. Boussard (*ibid.*).

Le vasselage de Lancelot dans le *Conte de la Charrette*. P. Jonin (*ibid.*).

Un problème d'histoire mosane: la prospérité de Huy aux environs de 1300. A. Joris (*ibid.*).

Chronologie gersonienne. Max Lieberman (*Romania*, No. 292, 1952).

Das politische Testament Richelieus. E. Hassinger (*Historische Zeitschrift*, June, 1952).

Probleme des Risorgimento. H. Holldack (*ibid.*).

H. von Srbiks letztes Werk. W. Hofer (*ibid.*, Feb., 1953).

Chateaubriand, l'homme des songes. Louis Morice (*La revue de l'Université Laval*, May).

Portrait de Martellange. Pierre Moisy (*Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, July-Dec., 1952).

Clorivière et les Pères de la Foi. André Rayez, S.I. (*ibid.*).

Schweden in der Gesellschaft Jesu (1580-1773). Josef Teschitel, S.I. (*ibid.*).

Los PP. Areso y Tierra Santa en el primer centenario de la restauración de la Orden Franciscana en Francia (1852-1952). Austin Arce, O.F.M. (*Archivo ibero-americano*, Jan.).

The Evolution of the French Church. Robert Rouquette (*Thought*, Spring, 1953).

L'humanisme athée au collège de France. J.-M. Le Blond (*Etudes*, Mar.).

L'antisémitisme en Russie. C. Wilczkowski (*ibid.*, Apr.).

The Marxist Influence in Catholic France. Borisz de Balla (*Catholic World*, Mar.).

"Pensieri relativi all'amministrazione pubblica dello Stato Pontificio 1845" del futuro Pio IX. G. Soranzo (*Aevum*, Jan.).

Vincenzo Gioberti nel centenario della morte. G. Bortolaso, S.I. (*La civiltà cattolica*, Apr.).

Il tribunale inquisitorio di Genova e l'Inquisizione romana nel '500. G. Bertora, S.I. (*ibid.*).

Orígenes del culto de Santiago en España. Justo Pérez de Urbel (*Hispania sacra*, Jan., 1952).

Fragments d'un antiphonaire mozarabe du monastère de San Juan la Peña. Louis Brou (*ibid.*).

El "Cod. Parisinus lat. 2036" y sus añadiduras hispánicas. Anscari Mundó (*ibid.*).

Benedictions épiscopales dans un manuscrit de Huesca. J. Leclercq and J. Laporte (*ibid.*).

Documentos inéditos e interesantes sobre la vida del cardenal Loaisa. Amalia Billi de Sandorno (*ibid.*).

Abusos litúrgicos. José Rius Serra (*ibid.*).

Inventaire des manuscrits de comput ecclésiastique conservés dans les bibliothèques de Catalogne. A Cordoliani (*ibid.*).

Manuscritos trecentistas y cuatrocentistas. José M. a Madurell Marimón (*ibid.*).

En el centenario de Hinojosa. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz (*Cuadernos de historia de España*, Vol. XVII, 1952).

Roma y España en la visión de Prudencio. Angel A. Castellán (*ibid.*).

La historiografía en la alta edad media española. Idealogía y estructura. E. Benito Ruano (*ibid.*).

Donación de una iglesia a un altar. R. Prieto Bances (*ibid.*).

Anotaciones sobre un ensayo acerca de la decadencia española. José Martín Blázquez (*ibid.*).

Florilegio documental del reinado de Pedro IV de Aragón. Amada López de Meneses (*ibid.*).

Catholicism in Sweden. Anna Lenah Elgstrom (*Unitas*, Jan.).

Behind the Iron Curtain. Joseph Gill, S.J. (*ibid.*).

A Catholicizing Trend among the Lutherans of Germany. Emile Herman, S.J. (*ibid.*).

Postwar Population Transfers in Europe: A Survey. Joseph B. Schechtman (*Rev. of Politics*, Apr.).

The Expulsion of the Germans from Hungary: A Study in Postwar Diplomacy (*ibid.*).

The Social Outlook of Prussian Conservatism. William O. Shanahan (*ibid.*).

German Social Democracy and the Jewish Problem Prior to World War I. Edmund Silberner (*Historia Judaica*, Apr.).

Interprétations de Luther dans l'Allemagne contemporaine. J. V. M. Pollet (*Revue des sciences religieuses*, Apr.).

Modern Greek Government I. Harold F. Aderfer (*Jrn. of Central European Affairs*, Jan.).

The Polish Precursors of Federalism. Piotr S. Wandycz (*ibid.*).

Beginnings of Albanian Nationalistic Trends in Culture and Education (1878-1912). Stavro Skendi (*ibid.*).

German Socialism and the Peace Crisis of 1916. John L. Snell (*ibid.*).

Où en est l'église de Pologne? Ian Kanty (*La revue de l'Université Laval*, Mar.).

Tito and the Catholic Church. John Murray (*Studies*, Mar.).

Kirchenverfolgung in Jugoslawien. W. de Vries (*Stimmen der Zeit*, Mar.).

Cardinal Stepinac and Dictator Tito. Clement S. Mihanovich (*Social Justice Rev.*, May.).

The First Russian State: An Appraisal of the Soviet Theory. Alexander Vucinich (*Speculum*, Apr.).

State-Church Relations in Russia: Then and Now. Dorsey D. Jones (*Arkansas Histor. Quart.*, Winter, 1952).

The Continuity of Russian Imperialism. Harry R. Rudin (*Yale Rev.*, Spring, 1953).

Communist Innovations. David J. Dallin (*ibid.*).

Background for the European Defense Community. Clarence C. Walton (*Political Science Quart.*, Mar.).

ENGLISH AND IRISH

L'Angleterre médiévale (publications des années 1950 et 1951). Edouard Perroy (*Revue historique*, Jan.).

Public Record Office. Laurence Dopson (*History Today*, Feb.).

Biblical Citations in Latin Lives of Welsh and Breton Saints Differing from the Vulgate. Louis H. Gray (*Traditio*, Vol. VII, 1952).

A Note on Ireland's Place in the Literary Tradition of St. Brendan. John Hennig (*ibid.*).

A List of Cistercian Manuscripts in Great Britain. C. H. Talbot (*ibid.*).

St. Augustine and the Parson's Tale. Alfred L. Kellogg (*ibid.*).

The *Camera Regis* under Henry II. J. E. A. Jolliffe (*English Histor. Rev.*, Jan.).

Corruption and Reform under Edward VI and Mary: The Example of Wardship. J. Hurstfield (*ibid.*).

A Letter from Lewis of Savoy to Edward I. A. J. Taylor (*ibid.*).

An Alleged Hysterical Outburst of Richard II. L. C. Hector (*ibid.*).

John Norbury (c1350-1414): An Esquire of Henry IV. Madeline Barber (*ibid.*).

Chaucer's Version of the Aeneid. Albert C. Friend (*Speculum*, Apr.).

Wyclyf Was a Negligent Pluralist. Joseph H. Dahmus (*ibid.*).

The Origin and Development of the Coronation Liturgy. Cuthbert Smith, O.S.B. (*Clergy Rev.*, Apr.).

Lord Acton. J. J. Dwyer (*ibid.*).

Von Hügel's Letters to Edmund Bishop. Nigel Abercrombie (*Dublin Rev.*, First Quarter, 1953).

The Newman-Meynell Correspondence. Dr. Zeno, O.F.M. Cap. (*Franciscan Studies*, Sept.-Dec.).

Sir Anthony Kingston, Knight. Michael Hanbury, O.S.B. (*Pax*, Spring, 1953).

Maria Ward. J. Grisar (*Stimmen der Zeit*, Apr.).

British Fabianism since 1914. Walter C. Richardson (*Thought*, Spring, 1953).

The High Crosses of Great Britain and Ireland. Stephen J. Brown, S.J. (*Irish Eccles. Rec.*, Apr.).

James Stephens' Contributions to Sinn Féin. George Braddon Saul (*Bull. of the New York Public Library*, Apr.).

AMERICAN

Archeology and Local History. J. C. Harrington (*Indiana Mag. of Hist.*, Mar.).

Some New Lights on Louis Hennepin. Augustin G. Ward (*Histor. Bull.*, May).

Writings in United States Church History: 1952. E. R. Vollmar (*ibid.*).

The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland: A Chronicle. Ernest J. Becker (*Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 28th Report, 1953).

German-American Historical Societies: Their Achievements and Limitations. Albert B. Faust (*ibid.*).

The German Americans: Immigration and Integration. Dieter Cunz (*ibid.*).

Eighteenth Century Maryland through the Eyes of German Visitors. Paul G. Gleis (*ibid.*).

Patent-Office Models of the Good Society: Some Relationships between Social Reform and Westward Expansion. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr. (*American Histor. Rev.*, Apr.).

William Ellery Channing: The Making of a Social Gospel. Madeleine Hooke Rice (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 97, No. 1, Feb., 1953).

Legislation Designed to Control Slavery in Wilmington and Fayetteville. James Howard Brewer (*North Carolina Histor. Rev.*, Apr.).

The Story of Peter Carabin, Proto-Priest of Northwestern Ohio. Joseph Ludwig (*Northwest Ohio Quart.*, Autumn, 1950).

Michigan Influences upon the Formative Years of the Erie Canal. Ronald Shaw (*Michigan Hist.*, Mar.).

Oregon Know-Nothing Pamphlet Illustrates Early Politics. Priscilla Knuth (*Oregon Histor. Quart.*, Mar.).

Frederic L. Paxson and His Approach to History. Earl Pomeroy (*Mississippi Valley Histor. Rev.*, Mar.).

Catholic Magazines: 1890-1893. William L. Lucey, S.J. (*Records* of the American Catholic Histor. Soc. of Phila., Sept.).

An Assistant Is Chosen for a Bishopric. Patrick H. Ahern (*ibid.*).

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate in the Pacific Northwest, 1847-1878. George M. Waggett, O.M.I. (*ibid.*).

Catholic Magazines: 1894-1900. William L. Lucey, S.J. (*ibid.*, Dec.).

Liberalism, Americanism, Modernism. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C. (*ibid.*).

John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., and Notre Dame. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C. (*ibid.*, Mar.).

John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., Military Delegate. (*ibid.*).

John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., Bishop of Buffalo. Leo R. Smith (*ibid.*).

John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., Archbishop of Philadelphia. George E. O'Donnell (*ibid.*).

The Pallium. Hugh J. Nolan (*ibid.*).

Development of the Diocese and Province of Philadelphia. Thomas B. Falls (*ibid.*).

Protestant Parochial Schools. Francis X. Curran (*Thought*, Spring, 1953).

The Presidential Election of 1952. Vincent P. De Santis (*Rev. of Politics*, Apr.).

The First Missionary in Canada, Ennémond Massé. C. J. Mersereau (*Report* of the Canadian Catholic Histor. Assn., 1952).

Father Morriscy of Moody's Point. G. J. Harrington (*ibid.*).

The Church in Newfoundland. P. J. Kennedy (*ibid.*).

Antoine Gaulin (1674-1770), An Apostle of Early Acadie. Richard V. Bannon (*ibid.*).

Devotion to Our Lady at Cap de la Madeleine. J. G. Shaw (*ibid.*).

Charles French, Pioneer Missionary. A. M. Osborne (*ibid.*).

Tableau de l'église canadienne en 1852. Olivier Maurault (*ibid.*).

Tableau de l'église trifluvienne en 1852. Hervé Biron (*ibid.*).

Mandements des évêques de Trois-Rivières. Yvon Thériault (*ibid.*).

L'éducation en Mauricie, 1634-1852. Fernand Porter, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

L'éducation en Mauricie, 1852-1952. Gérard Filteau (*ibid.*).

Le couronnement de Notre-Dame du Cap. Paul-Henri Barabé, O.M.I. (*ibid.*).

La direction de la Nouvelle-France par le ministère de la marine. R. La Roque de Roquebrune (*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique Française*, Mar.).

The Indians and the Brandy Trade during the Ancien Régime. G. F. G. Stanley (*ibid.*).

Premières réactions des vaincus de 1760 devant leurs vainqueurs. Michel Brunet (*ibid.*).

Autour de la relation du P. Pierre Biard. Lucien Campeau, S.J. (*ibid.*).

Recherches collectives: Chronique documentaire pour une nouvelle histoire coloniale. Les papiers privés et l'Amérique française. G. Debien et Autres (*ibid.*).

Messire Pierre Mennard (1739-1792) était bien Canadien. J. Jacques Lefebvre (*ibid.*)

The Reorganization of the Army of New Spain, 1763-1767. Lyle McAlister (*Hispanic American Histor. Rev.*, Feb.).

The Colored Castes and American Representation in the Cortes of Cádiz. James F. King (*ibid.*).

Parliamentary Government and the Mexican Constitution of 1857. Frank D. Knapp, Jr. (*ibid.*).

Bartolomé de Las Casas: An Essay in Hagiography and Historiography. Lewis Hanke (*ibid.*).

John Pendleton and His Friendship with Urquiza. Courtney Letts de Espil (*ibid.*).

The Archives of United States Diplomatic and Consular Posts in Latin America. John P. Harrison (*ibid.*).

Puerto Rico's New Self-governing Status. (*Dept. of State Bulletin*, Apr. 20, 1953).

The United States Press and the Panama Congress. Brendan C. McNally (*Histor. Bull.*, Mar.).

Nentuig's "Description of Sonora." Alberto Francisco Pradeau (*Mid-America*, Apr.).

British Travel Writers and the Jesuits. Herman J. Muller (*ibid.*).

Bishop Tamarón's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760. Eleanor B. Adams (*New Mexico Histor. Rev.*, Apr.).

Mexico's Forgotten Century. Lesley Byrd Simpson (*Pacific Histor. Rev.*, May).

Gabriel Gonzáles, Last Dominican in Baja California. Peter Gerhard (*ibid.*).

Franciscan Art in Peru. Harold E. Wethey (*The Americas*, Apr.).

The Contributions of Toussaint L'Ouverture to the Independence of the American Republics. Mary Aquinas Healy (*ibid.*).

A Russian Visit to the Spanish Franciscans in California, 1836. George O. Schanzer (*ibid.*).

La Casas Historiador. La "Historia de las Indias." Manuel M. a Martinez, O.P. (*La ciencia tomista*, Jan.).

La primera evangelización de América (1492-1504). Daniel Olmedo, S.I. (*Abside*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1953).

Los franciscanos y la educación literaria de los indios mejicanos. Manuel R. Pazos, O.F.M. (*Archivo ibero-americano*, Jan.).

Cipriano do Brasil, primeiro jesuíta filho da América. Serafim Leite, S.I. (*Verbum*, Dec.).

Humanismo Yankee? Afonso Rodrigues, S.J. (*ibid.*).

História do Brasil em 1951 [bibliography]. Helio Vianna (*ibid.*).

Pinturas de la Escuela Toluqueña del siglo XVIII. Abelardo Carrillo y Gariel (*Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, Tomo V, No. 33, 1951).

Misiones y Misioneros en Nueva España. Antonio Lebrija Celay (*ibid.*).

BOOKS RECEIVED

Anderson, Arthur J. O. and Charles E. Dibble (Eds.). *Florentine Codex. General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagun.* Book 3. *The Origin of the Gods.* (Santa Fe: School of American Research and the University of Utah. 1952. Pp. 68. $4.00). In this attractive reproduction of Part IV of Book 3 of the Florentine Codex the editors have translated the original Aztec into English and supplied the text with notes and nineteen illustrations. The two versions are run in parallel columns. The contents consist of fourteen brief chapters and an appendix of nine chapters which set forth the origins of the Aztec gods and explain the tribal religious worship, customs, and habits. Mr. Anderson is a member of the staff of the School of American Research in Santa Fe and his fellow editor, Mr. Dibble, is stationed at the University of Utah.

Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1952. (Washington: Library of Congress. 1952. Pp. xx, 192).

Anthropological Papers. Numbers 33-42. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 151. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office. 1953. Pp. x, 507).

Artz, Frederick B. *The Mind of the Middle Ages. A.D. 200-1500. An Historical Survey.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1953. Pp. xiv, 552, viii. $7.50).

Attwater, Donald. *Saints Westward. Some Colorful and Heroic Men and Women Who Planted and Watered the Seed of the Faith in the Western Hemisphere.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1953. Pp. x, 130. $2.50).

Auclair, Marcelle. *Teresa of Avila.* (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1953. Pp. xv, 457. $4.95).

Baeyens, Herman. *Begrip en Probleem van de Renaissance.* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université. 1952. Pp. vii, 489. 450 Fr.).

Bainvel, John V., S.J. *And the Light Shines in the Darkness. A Way of Life through Mary.* Translated by John J. Sullivan, S.J. (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc. 1953. Pp. xi, 239. $3.50).

Barber, Hollis W. *Foreign Policies of the United States.* (New York: Dryden Press. 1953. Pp. x, 614. $5.25).

Baugh, Virgil E. (Compiler). *Central Office Records of the National Resources Planning Board.* (Washington: National Archives. 1953. Pp. v, 66).

Bowen, E. R. *The Cooperative Road to Abundance. The Alternative to Monopolism and Communism.* (New York: Henry Schuman, Inc. 1953. Pp. xiii, 169. $3.00).

Boyle, George. *Father Tompkins of Nova Scotia.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1953. Pp. xi, 234. $3.00).

Bradner, Leicester and Charles Arthur Lynch (Eds.). *The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. xliv, 255. $7.50).

Bromiley, G. W. (Ed.). *Zwingli and Bullinger.* Vol. XXIV. The Library of Christian Classics. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1953. Pp. 364. $5.00). The selected translations published in this work have been made by the rector of St. Thomas Episcopal Church in Edinburgh. He has added a general introduction of over thirty pages on the lives of Zwingli and Bullinger, and a considerable number of scholarly notes on the works of these two important Swiss figures of the Protestant Revolt.

Bruckberger, Raymond Leopold. *Mary Magdalene.* Trans. by H. L. Binsse. *Annotations.* Trans. by Sr. Mary Camille Bowe, O.S.F. 2 Vols. (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1953. Pp. 192; 195-263. $3.00).

Bryan, T. Conn. *Confederate Georgia.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1953. Pp. x, 299. $4.50).

Burton, Katherine. *So Much, So Soon. Father Brisson, Founder of the Oblates of St. Francis de Sales.* (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc. 1953. Pp. vii, 243. $3.50).

Cairns, David S. *The Image of God in Man.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. 255. $4.50). This volume represents an expansion of the author's Kerr Lectures delivered at Trinity College, Glasgow, in the spring of 1949. In seventeen chapters the concept of responsibility in Christian thought is traced from the Bible down to Marx and Freud.

Call, Tomme Clark. *The Mexican Venture. From Political to Industrial Revolution in Mexico.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xii, 273. $4.50).

Carcopino, Jérôme. *Etudes d'histoire chrétienne. Le Christianisme secret du "carré magique." Les fouilles de Saint-Pierre et la tradition.* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel. 1953. Pp. 286. 840 Fr.).

Chan, Wing-tsit. *Religious Trends in Modern China.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1953. Pp. xiii, 327. $4.25).

The Christian Conscience and War. The Statement of a Commission of Theologians and Religious Leaders appointed by the Church Peace Mission. (New York: Church Peace Mission. 1953. Pp. 40. 25c).

The Church under Communism. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. 79. $2.75). This slender volume is a factual survey of the state of the churches in the Soviet Union and the satellite states. It is the second report from a commission appointed by the general assembly of the Church of Scotland of which George M. Dryburgh is chairman and Crawford Miller secretary.

Corpus Christianorum. I. *Tertullian Opera.* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Ltd. 1953. Pp. xxv, 75. 8,000 Belgian frs.).

Craig, Gordon A. and Felix Gilbert (Eds.). *The Diplomats: 1919-1939.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 700. $9.00).

Craven, Wesley F. and James L. Cate (Eds.). *The Army Air Forces in World War II.* Vol. V. *The Pacific: Matterhorn to Nagasaki, June 1944 to August 1945.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. xxvii, 878. $8.50).

Darrah, David. *Conspiracy in Paris. The Strange Career of Joseph Picot de Limoelan, Aristocrat, Soldier, and Priest, and the Gunpowder Plot against Napoleon on 3 Nivose, Year IX (December 24, 1800).* (New York: Exposition Press. 1953. Pp. 199. $3.00).

Davis, Harold E. *The Americas in History.* (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1953. Pp. xiv, 878. $7.50). Professor Davis is director of Inter-American Studies at the American University. He has integrated the history of all the countries of the western hemisphere and has provided his text with twenty-four maps, a list of suggested readings that runs to thirty-five pages, and an inr dex of over thirty pages.

Douglas, David C. and George W. Greenaway (Eds.). *English Historical Documents.* Vol. II. *1042-1189.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xxiv, 1014. $17.50).

Douie, Decima L. *Archbishop Pecham.* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 362. $8.50).

Duffy, John. *Epidemics in Colonial America.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 274. $4.50).

Eberdt, Mary Lois, C.H.M., and Gerald J. Schnepp, S.M. *Industrialism and the Popes.* A Study Made under the Auspices of the Department of Sociology, Saint Louis University with special emphasis on the Industry Council Plan. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1953. Pp. xxii, 245. $3.50). Sister Mary Lois of Marycrest College and Brother Schnepp of Saint Louis University have here applied the teachings of the encyclicals to problems relating to the industry council plan. The volume has a foreword from Archbishop Lucey of San Antonio, a bibliography of papal documents, of the industry council plan and related topics as well as a sixteen-page index.

Eisenhart, Luther P. (Ed.). *Historic Philadelphia from the Founding until the Early Nineteenth Century. Papers Dealing with its People and Buildings with an Illustrative Map.* (Issued as Volume 43, Part I, of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge). (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1953. Pp. 331 and map. Paper $4.00; cloth $6.00).

Ferm, Vergilius (Ed.). *The American Church of the Protestant Heritage.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. 481. $6.00).

Frye, Richard N. *Iran.* (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1953. Pp. x, 126. Paper $1.40; cloth $1.85).

Giles, E. (Ed.). *Documents Illustrating Papal Authority, A.D. 96-454.* (London: S.P.C.K.; New York: Macmillan Co. 1953. Pp. xxi, 344. $3.50).

Goldmark, Josephine. *Impatient Crusader. Florence Kelley's Life Story.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1953. Pp. xiii, 217. $3.50). The biography of a leading American social worker who belonged to the generation of Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, and Edith Abbott. Mrs. Kelley campaigned for settlement houses, a living wage, and against child labor. She played a leading role in getting Illinois' first factory inspection act passed and served with distinction as the state's pioneer factory inspector. Mrs. Kelley was born in 1859 and died in 1932. The book, written by one of her associates, was finished after the death of Josephine Goldmark in December, 1950, by her niece, Elizabeth Brandeis.

Groulx, Lionel. *Une petit Québécoise devant l'histoire. Mère Catherine de Saint-Augustin.* Cahiers d'Histoire No. 5. (Quebec: Société Historique de Québec, Université Laval. 1953. Pp. 27. 25c).

Harlow, Ralph Volney. *The United States. From Wilderness to World Power.* Revised edition. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1953. Pp. viii, 902. $6.00).

Hassinger, Hugo. *Geographische Grundlagen der Geschichte.* (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1953. Pp. xi, 391, map. Leinwand 22,—DM, broschiert 18,80 DM).

Hayes, Carlton J. H. *Modern Europe to 1870. Contemporary Europe since 1870.* Two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1953. Pp. xii, 837; xiii, 785. $5.25 each). All teachers of modern European history will welcome this new work of the distinguished Professor Hayes. His earlier two-volume surveys of modern Europe have been in wide use in American colleges for nearly forty years, and while the present text is said to embody certain features and phrasings of its predecessors it is, according to the author, "an essentially new work." The terminal date has been changed to 1870 and the evolution of Europe is here reinterpreted from the standpoint of the Atlantic Community with new maps and up-to-date bibliographies. The narrative of the second volume comes down to the opening of the year 1953. The appendix to this volume contains lists of the European states and their sovereigns since 1870.

Hynes, Michael J. *History of the Diocese of Cleveland. Origin and Growth (1847-1952).* (Cleveland: Diocese of Cleveland, 1027 Superior Avenue. 1953. Pp. xxiv, 520. $10.00).

Jennings, Walter Wilson. *20 Giants of American Business. Bibliographical Sketches in Economic History.* (New York: Exposition Press. 1953. Pp. 480. $5.00). Dr. Jennings, professor of economics in the University of Kentucky, presents in this volume biographical sketches of twenty men drawn from agriculture, manufactures, banking, transportation, foreign trade, and domestic trade. The book carries a seven-page bibliography and an index.

Jones, Howard Mumford. *The Pursuit of Happiness.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 168. $3.50).

The John Carter Brown Library Annual Report, 1951-1952. (Providence: John Carter Brown Library. 1952. Pp. 73).

Joyce, James Avery. *World in the Making. The Story of International Cooperation.* (New York: Henry Schuman, Inc. 1953. Pp. 159. $3.50).

Lagerquist, Philip D., Archie L. Abney, and Lyle J. Holverstott (Compilers). *"Old Loans" Records of the Bureau of the Public Debt.* (Washington: National Archives. 1953. Pp. v, 91).

Macartney, C. A. *The Medieval Hungarian Historians. A Critical and Analytical Guide.* (Cambridge: At the University Press. 1953. Pp. xv, 190. $5.00).

McDowell, R. B. *Public Opinion and Government Policy in Ireland, 1801-1846.* (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd. 1953. Pp. 303. 35s net).

Mace, David R. *Hebrew Marriage. A Sociological Study.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. xv, 271. $6.00). A second-hand study of biblical sources, guided by modern exegetes. The author's emphatic dismissal of the supposed matriarchy at the origin of Hebrew social structure is welcome, but he is extreme in his generalizations about sexual asceticism, the religious significance of marriage, and the status of women among the Hebrews. In general, he is inclined to exalt Hebrew thought as opposed to Christian. A biblical index would have made this study more serviceable.

McWilliams, Richebourg Gaillard (Trans. and Ed.). *Fleur de Lys and Calumet. Being the Pénicaut Narrative of French Adventure in Louisiana.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1953. Pp. xxvii, 282. $4.00).

Mosse, George L. *The Reformation.* (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1953. Pp. viii, 101. Paper $1.40; Cloth $1.85).

Moynihan, James H. *The Life of Archbishop John Ireland.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1953. Pp. xii, 441. $5.00).

Naftalin, Arthur, Benjamin N. Nelson, Mulford Q. Sibley, Donald C. Calhous and Andreas G. Papandreou (Eds.). *An Introduction to Social Science. Personality, Work and Community.* (Three books in one vol.). (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1953. Pp. xvii, 394; 363; 372; xxx). This volume is a selection of readings in social science made by five members of the faculty of the University of Minnesota and arranged under three principal headings: personality, work, and community. One looks in vain here for any selections which would illustrate Catholic teaching in social science. The only two entries in the index pertaining to the Church relate to the leadership concept in Catholicism and the Church in rural America in the nineteenth century. The former is taken from Sigmund Freud's *Libido and Leadership.*

Newman Commemoration: 1852-1952. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Books, Documents and Manuscripts Relating to Cardinal Newman, Newman House, 20th-26th October, 1952. (Dublin: University College. 1952. Pp. 14).

Oberg, Kalervo. *Indian Tribes of Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil.* Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology Publication No. 15. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office. 1953. Pp. viii, 144. $1.00.)

O'Daniel, Victor F., O.P. *A Song in Stone to Mary* (as told by Bernard A. McKenna to the author). (Philadelphia: Holy Angels Rectory. 1952. Pp. lxxxvi, 509).

Ore, Oystein. *Cardano the Gambling Scholar.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. xiv, 249. $4.00).

Otto of Freising and his Continuator, Rahewin. *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa.* Translated and annotated with an introduction by Charles Christopher Mierow with the collaboration of Richard Emery. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 366. $5.50).

Owings, Donnell M. *His Lordship's Patronage. Office of Profit in Colonial Maryland.* Studies in Maryland History No. 1. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 1953. Pp. xii, 214).

Padover, Saul K. (Ed.). *The Complete Madison. His Basic Writings.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1953. Pp. ix, 361. $4.00).

Painter, Sidney. *A History of the Middle Ages, 284-1500.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1953. Pp. ix, 497, xx. $5.50). A college textbook in the excellent format that characterizes the Knopf publications. The author devotes most of his attention to the period after 900. He treats the Church with respect, but the Papacy does not appear in the volume until the Middle Ages are far advanced. The explanations of the sacrament of penance and of indulgences go a bit awry. The style is direct and clear.

Parkes, Henry Bamford. *The United States of America. A History.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1953. Pp. xxii, 773, xxiv. $5.75). A textbook by the professor of American history in New York University.

Penrose, E. F. *Economic Planning for the Peace.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. xiv, 384. $7.50). Mr. Penrose, who is professor of geography and international relations at the Johns Hopkins University, has treated in this volume not only economic issues but political, diplomatic, and military aspects of World War II as well.

Pinkett, Harold T. (Compiler). *Records of the Office of Labor of the War Food Administration.* (Washington: National Archives. 1953. Pp. v, 18).

Pralle, Ludwig. *Die Wiederentdeckung des Tacitus. Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte Fuldas und zur Biographie des jungen Cusanus.* (Fulda: Verlag Parzeller & Co. 1952. Pp. 108).

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vol. LXVIII. October, 1944—May, 1947. (Boston: Published by the Society. 1952. Pp. xix, 563).

Quintero, Rafael Torres and Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois. *El Antijovio. Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada.* (Bogotà: Publicaciones del instituto Caro y Cuervo. 1952. Pp. clxxxiv, 637).

Richardson, Cyril C. (Ed.). *Early Christian Fathers.* Vol. I. The Library of Christian Classics. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1953. Pp. 415. $5.00.)

Richthofen, Bolko Freiherr von. *Die Geschichte der deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen im Lichte Aleksander Brueckners.* (München: by the author. 1953. Pp. 24).

Riker, William H. *Democracy in the United States.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1953. Pp. xiv, 428. $2.25). An associate professor of government in Lawrence College presents here in nine chapters, supplemented by several appendices, a list of suggestions for further readings, and eight charts and tables, an attempt to interpret American political institutions on the basis of an internally consistent theory of the democratic ideal. The author outlines his own version of that ideal in Chapter I.

Risch, Erna. *The Quartermaster Corps. Organization, Supply, and Services.* Vol. I. (Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, Dept. of the Army. 1953. Pp. xvi, 418. $3.25).

Robinson, Charles Alexander, Jr. *The History of Alexander the Great.* Vol. I. Part I. *An Index to the Extant Historians.* Part II. *The Fragments.* (Providence, R.I.: Brown University. 1953. Pp. xvii, 276. $7.00).

Robleda, José Gomez. *Dictamen acerca de la autencidad del descubrimiento la tumba de Cuahtemoc en Ixcateopan.* (Mexico: Secretaria de Educacion Publica. 1952. Pp. 173. Ejemplar $15.00; De lujo $35.00).

Romanus, Charles F. and Riley Sunderland. *Stilwell's Mission to China. U.S. Army in World War II. China-Burma-India Theater.* (Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, Dept. of the Army. 1953. Pp. xix, 441. $5.00).

Routley, Erik. *Hymns and Human Life.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. xvii, 346. $6.00). A popularly-written, but serious account of religious hymns and their authors, with particular emphasis on the modern era. Over 600 hymns figure in this book.

Sackett, Leonard. *Call Back Yesterday. How to Preserve and Write the Record of Our Regional Heritage.* (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies. 1953. Pp. 16. 25c).

Sarton, George. *A History of Science. Ancient Science through the Golden Age of Greece.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. xxvi, 646. $10.00).

Sheehan, Donald. *This Was Publishing.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1952. Pp. xiv, 288. $3.75).

Smith, Lacey Baldwin. *Tudor Prelates and Politics: 1536-1558.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. viii, 333. $5.00).

Smith, Robert Ross. *The Approach to the Philippines. United States Army in World War II. The War in the Pacific.* Vol. XVI. (Washington: Department of the Army, Office of the Chief of Military History. 1953. Pp. xviii, 623. $5.50).

Sparks, H. F. D. *The Formation of the New Testament.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. 172. $3.00). The well-known English biblical scholar, Canon Sparks, has written a lucid account of the manner in which the New Testament books fit into the development of the primitive Christian Church. Particularly refreshing is his strong emphasis on the NT as the Church's book: "The truth is that the New Testemant and Church belong together. . . . We have no right today either to receive the New Testament, or to interpret it, as of independent authority" (p. 156).

Summers, Festus P. *William L. Wilson and Tariff Reform.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 288. $5.00).

Sztachova, Jirina (Comp.). *Mid-Europe. A Selective Bibliography.* (New York: Mid-European Studies Center of the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc. 1953. Pp. 197. $2.00). This is the tenth in a series of publications from the Mid-European Studies Center of the National Committee for a Free Europe, 4 W. 57th Street, New York City 19. The compiler has classified over 1,700 titles of books in western languages dealing with all phases of the history and current situation in countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Thomson, S. Harrison. *Czechoslovakia in European History.* Second edition, revised. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 485. $7.50). This is a second and enlarged edition of a book which was first published in 1943. Professor Thomson of the University of Colorado has added one completely new chapter which covers the story from 1939 of the occupation, liberation, and communist coup in 1948.

Thornton, Francis Beauchesne. *The Burning Flame. The Life of Pope Pius X.* (New York: Benziger Bros. 1953. Pp. 216. $3.00).